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THE WAR

AND THE

CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

BY ANDREW B. CROSS.

1865.

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PRISONS AND PRISONERS OF WAR.

RICHMOND—ANDERSONVILLE—FORT DELAWARE—WALLA-BOCHT BAY.

The wounded from the battle of Gettysburg had scarcely been housed in comfortable quarters for the winter, when reports came, by various modes of communication, that our men who had been captured at Gettysburg, and other places, were suffering in the prisons of Belle Island, Libby, Castle Thunder, &c., at Richmond, for want of food, clothing and shelter.

It was hard to entertain the idea that it could be true of men who had enjoyed the blessings of civilization and christianity, and who profess to have attained to a standard of humanity, civilization and chivalry beyond any of their Northern brethren. To charge such a crime upon them, for milder language is not becoming, we were very unwilling. Yet after examining into the matter with all the care, attention and impartiality possible—comparing the statements and editorials in their papers with written communications from prisoners in prison, and the personal verbal testimony of men who were privates and officers, men whom we personally knew—we were left without a shadow of doubt upon the subject. Being eye-witness to the condition of those that were admitted at Annapolis from the steamer New York, from Richmond, on May 2d, 1864, also of those admitted to West's Building Hospital, on the 18th of April, we can testify that their condition was all that is stated in the report of Mr. Wade, on May 9th, and that the photographs of the persons were correct.

When the miserable commissary was denounced in their Congress by *Mr. Foote* as a cruel wretch, disgracing the Confederacy, robbing and murdering by inches the prisoners—when they permitted provisions and clothing to be forwarded, it was an admission on the part of the Rebel Government of the truth of the statements to a very large degree.

Convinced of the fact, and finding a door open, we gave what diligence we could in endeavoring to secure and send forward to our men in prison such articles of food, clothing, &c., as would help to make them comfortable. At first they were freely received, and in part, if not wholly, distributed. Then it was objected that they could not distribute what the Government had sent, but would that of the Commissions—then none except individual packages. When reduced to this, we took the names of individuals, and dividing the goods into moderate sized boxes,

forwarded them to individuals, many of whom we were thankful on knowing that they received them. Others to whom boxes were sent, not only did not receive them, but from some we have learned that when they were released for exchange, on passing out, saw boxes directed to them, with the goods in some cases removed, and in others spoiled.

To what extent our papers were guilty of exasperating them by gross representations and violent denunciations of their conduct, we cannot tell. It certainly was a duty to point out this gross neglect, resulting in starvation, when their papers admitted, urged and justified it; and must have been gross when Mr Foote, one of their Congress, felt called upon by his humanity to denounce it publicly in that body.

The history of this starvation is one of the darkest pictures of this rebellion. To capture men in war, to shoot them down in battle, to require of them even exertion to procure their food and clothing, to let them live even on rougher fare, might be admitted as an accompaniment of war. To withhold proper food when they have it—not to furnish it in quantity when they have abundance, to admit their want and open a door to receive food and clothing—then when furnished, to shift and shuffle from one point to another, to have some pretext to continue the work of starvation, exposure and death—and then for the editors of their papers to gloat over it and glory in it, is one of the most horrible things which has occurred since this horrible war was commenced, and admits of no apology. To have men suffering from want of clothing, and withhold clothing furnished to them without cost; to have men starving and dying, and let provisions rot before their eyes without letting them be given; to let their fellow-men, prisoners in their hands, for whose lives they were responsible to God, die thus, is an outrage on humanity, such as the world has scarcely ever seen, and is evidence of the strongest kind, to us, that their cause is of that character that God could not and would not prosper.

In times of excitement, we are in great danger of losing sight of proper and correct principles—in a storm a sea captain may lose his reckoning; in a battle, amid smoke or fog, soldiers and officers may lose their place and be captured—the confusion of the contest may break order and discipline; in time of civil and warm political contests, men lose sight of individual rights, correct principles, and forget and neglect the duties they owe to one another; but no man has a right, no people have a right to sanction inhumanity—to pursue it with a plan and purpose. What incident in the life of the cruel Nero is more indicative of his savage temper, and indifference to human rights, than that during a general famine, when many were perishing for want of food, he ordered a ship from Egypt, the granary of Italy, with a load of sand for the use of wrestlers, that he might be amused in the contest?

Among the vessel loads of our returned prisoners were men whom we had known for many years. Those in the photograph plates were true, but there were worse cases. No report can convey the impression which a man would have who saw them upon the boats.

The people of the South, in general, are not to be charged with this cruelty, for in many cases we have heard from our prisoners that acts of kindness and attention to their wants have been shown in ways which speak for their humanity and ingenuity in helping them; nei-

ther would we charge it upon officers of standing or rank in State, or the army. The neglect the withholding and the cruelty which has placed such a picture of horrors before the world, is principally due to the officers in charge of the prisons, who have acted as commanders, provost marshals, keepers, guards and commissaries, with negligent surgeons. We would not, however, by any means, excuse the criminality against God and humanity, which in the higher officers of State permitted these men so to act, or the Government which would withhold help, or when help was offered and brought by their consent, would suffer the same to go to waste, while the men died for want. If they did not in person examine, they should have had reliable men; if neither, what excuse can they make? They could not be ignorant.

We are the more explicit on this point, and make the complaint with somewhat of right, personally, because we have endeavored to have the Rebel wounded in our hands cared for in proper manner, as a duty we owe to God, to humanity, and to our nation. The Rebel wounded at Gettysburg, and in our hospitals, were taken care of as well as our own, by surgeons of the Government, and by the delegates of our Commission.

Wounded and prisoners constitute two great classes in war. In this, the contest is to settle the permanency of republican institutions—the right and power of self-government—the hope of liberty in the world; whether man shall be man as made in the image of God, with rights and hopes for this world, or whether he is to be enslaved, oppressed and down-trodden under the heels of despotic power—that absolutism which craft, taking advantage of ignorance, combined under satanic influence, with power, has interfered between man and his Creator—between man and the blessings which God has entitled him to, and made him the mere creature of their will and pleasure, instead of man in the image of God, sitting beneath his own vine and fig tree, with no power to molest him.

Sprung upon the people of this nation as this war was in the early part of 1861, all the facilities which belonged to the Government removed by the cunning of traitorous officers, with the permission or neglect, if not connivance of James Buchanan, the Chief Executive, the energy of the nation, its reserved power had to be called forth, and provision made for its defence. It has been done on a scale of grandeur and magnificence. For thirty years the Southern leaders had been preparing. When they made their first moves they were the strongest. When their rebellion was thoroughly inaugurated they were in their strength. The national arms and munitions of war, which then were as nothing, have gradually been growing into a perfectness in numbers and strength until the present time.

In the progress of our Government's provision no department has been more carefully and permanently advanced than that which belongs to the *wounded and prisoners*. Beginning without hospitals and prisons, indeed without surgeons, for what were the few army surgeons to the demand? When we called the second day after a battle upon a Medical Director to ask him to telegraph for fifty or one hundred surgeons, he answered "We had enough for our wounded." Several days after the Surgeon General called for fifty to one hundred. Men could not realize

the magnitude of the war, and just in the proportion of that did we need surgeons, hospitals and prisons, with all the appendages necessary to a humane caring for of the lives of our own men and of the enemy as they should fall into our hands.

Torture is not an element of war. With all its horrors and sufferings and deaths, a real soldier would feel dishonored and degraded if he let his humanity leave him for the impulse and spirit of a demon. On the battle field, while the musketry has been one continued crash and the artillery one deafening roar as men advanced against the enemy, a man has been known to stop and give a drink of water from his canteen to a wounded enemy. At Point Lookout we preached from a Testament belonging to one of the Rebel prisoners, in which he had written, "*Given to me by the Enemy on the field of battle at Gettysburg.*"

In the Peninsular war, when the English and French had been in deadly conflict, the English army overpowered, had retreated across a river, the French pursuing to its edge. They had succeeded, and were passing over a rising ground on the opposite side to escape the sharpshooters of the French, who were now occupying the ground which they left. The bugles sounded for a move, when some one observed that a woman, the wife of one of the soldiers, in the confusion and haste had been left on the opposite shore, and was standing with arms outstretched imploring help. The noise of the stream and the roar of musketry drowned her cries. What was to be done? How can she be saved? While the army turned to behold her one general feeling of interest was awakened. Suddenly the ranks opened, and a man pushed forth on horseback. Pressing the spurs into his horse he dashed into the stream. The storm of bullets from the French army fell as hail around him, yet on he pressed, stemming the flood, and reached the shore where she stood. Seizing her with his strong hand he lifted her upon his horse. Turning his head he rushed again into the river. The French now, for the first time, saw for what he had braved their army single-handed. Dropping their muskets to the ground, and taking off their caps, with one huzza they joined the English army upon the other side in paying their tribute to the humanity and philanthropy of the Scotch nobleman who had perilled his life for the saving of another.

This spirit has not left the men in the army on either side in this dreadful contest. Oftentimes when the officers of the Rebel army will permit, their pickets hail our men with as much freedom and cordiality as if there was no strife between them. They will trade tobacco and sugar and papers, &c., until ordered to cease, and even then will notify our men that they may be on the watch. There are some green spots now and then in the desolations of war which show where human kindness can soften the pillow and soothe the dying hour even of an enemy in arms.

We are thankful that amid the terrible horrors of this war there are agencies at work in addition to the regular provision of the Government, in concert, and heartily co-operative with all those surgeons or men of the medical fraternity who are seeking to alleviate the pains, bind up the wounds and minister food and nourishment to the wounded

and dying on the battle-fields and in the hospitals—to speak words of comfort to their souls, pointing them to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners, receiving and sending their dying messages to parents and kindred, and relieving those at home by letting them know of their place and condition.

To accomplish such ends much labor and self-denial has often to be endured. Care and caution has to be observed, lest in a desire to do good a philanthropic individual does not come undesignedly in the way of an officer, whose instincts are his pay, his rank, and his personal convenience, or who may have some private pique with some individual or society, or who may feel that enough is done by the Government and physicians without any meddling philanthropist.

No government ever did more for its wounded and prisoners than has been done by our Government. Never were officers in charge of an army, or surgeons in charge of hospital departments, more attentive to their men than men who are connected with our army; yet from Lieutenant General Grant down—we may say from the President, himself, down—there has been an appreciation of that kind of labor and attention which in a thousand ways has helped to mitigate the severity and horrors of war.

In the surgeons' department, where the only jealousy arises and where little things either without design or by mistake, or through inexperience and want of knowledge of men and the world, have given offence, we take pleasure in saying that almost uniformly this kind of labor has been received gratefully, kindly, and in many cases sought for and co-operated with to such a degree that you would forget that he was an officer under pay and with authority, and feel that he was like one of yourselves, seeking only to do good to his fellow man.

If there be one thing in the army more to be dreaded, and condemned than any other, it is *the use of intoxicating drinks* in officers, surgeons and privates. If there be a man upon earth who should be a sober man, cool, calm and collected, it is the man who goes himself and leads others into battle. He risks not only his own life, but his men and his cause. So of the man who undertakes to attend upon the sick and wounded after a battle. The time was when to be almost drunk was an essential to a sea captain, an engineer, a commander, a private soldier and a preservative to a surgeon. But the sunken ships, drowned passengers, exploded engines, scalded victims, frightful conflicts of railroad cars, captured officers and men by blunders, and the bad management and neglect in the cases of wounded men, resulting from drink, have demanded sober men.

Stimulants that are needed for wounded men; strong drink which according to scripture, is to be given to men who are ready to perish, is not necessary for men who are well and properly cared for. The testimony of commanders of armies, of surgeons of long experience in war and in countries where fevers and chills are common, is against the use.

1. A man sells to make money by it.
2. A man drinks because he loves it and desires to have it near him.

With some surgeons we have noticed the bottles from the dispensary with the label *Spiritus Frumenti* are a sort of sovereign panacea. We with pleasure record the conduct of others, when their wounded men

have come in and spirituous liquors have been proffered, have rejected it and sought for hot coffee. In the hurry and pressure often incidental to war, especially during and after an engagement, *neglect* and *oversight* of many things is almost a necessity, orders that pertain to the efficiency and success of the army must be carried out without delay and without regard to persons or cost. At such a time no sane man will interfere to hinder the same, but when at ease, with leisure, inattention and neglect are unjustifiable.

After a battle, the first thing is to save life, make as comfortable as you can the wounded and make secure the prisoners.

The same thing which called for enlarged and humane exertions toward the wounded, from the large number of prisoners in this war, called for places of security. Our government has provided Fort Delaware, Point Lookout, Johnson's Island, David's Island, &c.

The whole system of imprisonment in its best forms is not attended with the humanity it should. We find in our State prisons until lately where no passions are called out, merely the keeping safe of criminals, neglect and often severity. Abroad it has been far worse. The Prison History of Europe until exposed by Howard was a horrible disgrace to human nature. Where passions are inflamed on either side and men are placed over prisoners, who have neither humanity, coolness, courage nor management—the treatment of prisoners will be without consideration and without humanity. Oftentimes these prisons and burial grounds exhibit the brutality of officers, surgeons and we might add of nurses in charge.

In the month of November, 1863, while engaged in sending to our prisoners at Richmond, some person called at the commission room and said that we had better look into the condition of the rebel prisoners at Fort Delaware. On Friday, December 3rd, we went to New Castle and on Saturday 4th to Fort Delaware. We spent Saturday afternoon, Sabbath and Monday morning looking carefully into the condition, a report of which was published in the Baltimore American of December 10. From it we extract as follows:

“Fort Delaware is situated on an island in the Delaware river, directly opposite to Delaware city, the point where the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal opens into the Delaware river.

The island is about three-quarters of a mile from Delaware City, about one-half mile from the Jersey shore, and contains about seventy-five acres of land. It was formerly called the *Pea Patch*, and now, at times, gets the old name. The ground is flat, and at high tides would overflow, but an embankment is made all around it, higher than the tide at any time rises. On the east side of the island is a lock by which the river is admitted into the moat which surrounds the fort. From this also there are several smaller canals, which drain the island, and passing through with the rise and fall of the tide, carry away any filth or putrid water which might and must gather around a large fortification with so many persons in and about it.

The fort is built of solid granite stone on the outside, with brick casemates and garrison houses within its enclosure. These casemates are three stories high. All the buildings and fort seem to have been put up in a very substantial manner.

The rebel prisoners occupy barracks outside of the fort and on the northwest corner of the island. Each of these has three rows of *bunks* on each side with an isle about 8 to 9 feet wide. The bunks on each side being 5 to 7 feet deep, would make the barrack about 18 to 20 feet wide, and about 200 to 250 feet long. In each of these are four to five large coal stoves, with cylinders, which would hold at least a bushel of coal at a time. The Hospital Department is as good as any of our soldiers could wish for, and their rooms comfortable unless their men neglect to keep up the fires. They have hand-barrows and carts, &c., with which the prisoners amuse themselves in hauling coal, which is furnished in abundance, so that if they do not keep them warm it is their own fault.

Sabbath morning, the 5th, was exceedingly cold—the very kind of a day to see if they were suffering. From our observation of them, as well as our own feelings, we could give no other statement than that they were as comfortable as it is customary for our soldiers to be in their barracks.

At 10 o'clock we preached in the quarters of the artillery inside of the fort; at 11 in one of the hospitals. As we came out we noticed the prisoners making to the cook-house. We went down and through it to see what fare they had. Here was good bread—sweet, well-baked, and better than we have eaten a hundred times in other places—and plenty of it.

The meat for dinner was good shoulders, and we think hams. The men around expressed their opinion that it was good meat.

While standing among them we asked them if they would like to have preaching. They readily assented, and circulated the notice among their companions. We went out and selected a spot in the barrack yard, which was protected from the wind, and where the sun shone. Here were gathered in a few minutes almost one thousand men, who stood listening attentively for over half an hour that we talked to them and then seemed unwilling to part, begging us to come and preach to them again or send some one.

In the hospital cook-house the fare was very good, all looked cheerful.

We went to the fort to look into the condition of the rebel prisoners, so that, if they were in any suffering condition, we might seek a remedy, and if we found them cared for as we believed that we might hold it up as a reason why our soldiers in Libby, Castle Thunder, and Belle Island should have what they were entitled to, even from rebels.

Brutus said to his fellow conspirators against Cæsar's life—

“Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully;
Let's carve him as a dish fit for the Gods,
Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds.”

Men who fought as those did under Lee at Gettysburg are degraded before the world, when the officers of their Government will treat the prisoners that they took with inhumanity. So our Government would be justly the contempt of the world, if we by neglect or ill-treatment wasted away in prison the lives of those we have taken. While in war and battle we use every appliance with all skill and energy—to the wounded and prisoner let us show the magnanimity—the humanity of men. We ask nothing more for any of our men at Richmond than we

give their men at Fort Delaware. If they can't do it for them, allow us to aid them in doing it.

All the spare time between the services we used in inquiring into the condition of all the men there, especially that of the rebel sick and prisoners. Concerning all, we would say that they are well cared for, and that this is the answer of every one to whom we spoke, excepting that the prisoners have not as much preaching as they would like, nor as much reading matter, the Chaplains confining themselves mainly to the garrison and those in the hospital.

Under General Schoepf the barracks and everything around partake of order, cleanliness and comfort. He requires the prisoners to be taken out in the fresh air and walked about during which time their part of the barracks are cleaned and white-washed; blankets, clothing, &c., all brought out and aired. This is health to the prisoners, and, of course, economy to the Government; it is cheaper to the Government to give the vegetables and fruits, which are wholesome, than to pay for the medicines and attention to them when sick.

The conduct of the rebel government to our soldiers in their prisons at Richmond, awakens up in the hearts of many, the spirit of retaliation and revenge. God forbid that it should be attempted against any of their privates who are prisoners in our hands! That inhumanity of man to his fellow man, which

"Has made countless millions mourn,"

does not belong to the spirit of our Government. If the rebel government will so basely treat our men, as we know they have done at Richmond, don't let our souls come into their assembly, or practice their cruel deeds.

Surgeons and Chaplains from Libby, who have spent nights with us on their return, urge that we be kind to the prisoners among us. War in any way is terrible. Don't let it be aggravated by the meanness and malice which would prey like vultures upon the wounded and prisoners.

Christianity requires of us to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to the thirsty, visit the sick and the prisoner, not to gloat on his unfortunate condition, but to try and do him good, ministering compassionately."

Coming from Fort Delaware we met in the ears a young man of 17th Connecticut, who was in Barlow's division of the 11th corps, wounded the first day at battle of Gettysburg. He was wounded north of the town and brought to the German Reformed church hospital by the rebels who then held the town. This church was *General Ewell's headquarters*, or observatory, it being the best point about Gettysburg to see the movements of his men on the north and east. From it almost every man of his corps attacking on cemetery hill could be seen. He heard Ewell when the Louisiana men fell back, abuse them as cowards. The aids and men who were on guard, while looking at the attack remarked that General Lee had said to his officers that our "right centre must be taken if it cost two-thirds of the men." The desperation of the attack gives weight to this remark.

After this visit we continued to do what we could in the sending of provisions of food and clothing to our men in Richmond. The reports

from there daily harrowed up the feelings of every humane man. Freezing and starvation seemed to be the two chief sources of torture. We feel a loathing to record the statements we had from so many persons of those dismal months. Would that it were blotted from the history of man. But it is an index of the spirit of rebellion which is itself cruel.

Libby prison, where our officers were mostly confined, is a row of brick buildings on the canal, facing the James river, three stories high, formerly used as a tobacco warehouse. The rooms are about one hundred feet long and forty wide. In six of these rooms 1 200 officers, from General Neal Dow to a second lieutenant, remained, with no other space for eating sleeping taking exercise, cooking or washing. Not two feet by ten to a man, out of which was to be taken room to pass, cook, wash and dry.

Two men, Major and Richard Turner, had charge, one as officer, the other as inspector of the building. No one was allowed to go within three feet of the windows, which reduced their space about one-sixth, or two by eight and a half feet. The appearance of one near the window, was sure to induce a shot from the sentry, which occurred almost hourly. Lieutenant Huggins was shot at, when standing eight feet from the window.

One of the officers who escaped in the *tunnel* assured us that the accounts we had of the suffering by cold, withholding of food, &c., were by no means exaggerated. The only correction which he would make was in regard to the corn meal, of which he did not think the cob was generally ground, but that the corn, bran and all without sifting was given out to them, but that it was often with crusts so hard and thick that they could not eat one-half of it, and the allowance for the day was one of these pieces about three inches by four and about two inches thick. One of these rations he left with us, but frequently we have seen the same when our men have come up in the truce boat.

Sometimes they were tantalized with the sight of the boxes sent to them which were piled up—but occasionally the contents were thrown to them in such a way that they were mixed together and ruined. Gen. Dow and others speak of the reception of articles and attention which indicate a different treatment at other times to some of the officers.

The Rev John Hussey, of Ohio, who was taken prisoner while attending upon our wounded at Chicamauga, spent seven weeks in Libby. On his way to Richmond, passing through Atlanta, he saw Judge John C. Gaut, of East Tennessee, handcuffed, and at Richmond, in Libby, Dr. R. Humphreys, of Jonesboro', East Tennessee, Mr. Hardin, of Virginia, living opposite Fredericksburg, about sixty-five years of age *without a shirt*, only a woman's shawl over his shoulders. He also saw children in the prison held as hostages to compel their fathers who had avoided the conscription, to present themselves.

Belle Island is in view of Libby, in the James river. Trees and rocks are upon part of it. The portion on which our prisoners privates, were kept is almost entirely of sand, low and barren even of shrubs. About five or six acres are ditched and earth thrown up about three feet, on which about forty feet apart, are the guards. Within this are rows of tents, which poor in themselves, shelter but few of those in

the camp. Thousands had no shelter of any kind. It was before the eyes of the people of Richmond. The President and Cabinet, with the Congress and Senate of the confederacy were within a few minutes' walk of it.

The men having been stripped in part of their clothing, deprived of their money, which is the common charge, without shelter along that bleak river, often enveloped in its pestilential fog, with but a little fire here and there, while thousands who cannot approach, are shivering around, or trying to keep their blood in circulation by keeping themselves in motion day and night. The severity of the frost of last winter was so great, that nearly all the ice houses around and down the James river were filled. Thousands of men trying like hogs to get together in such numbers as to keep themselves warm, the outer ones occasionally changing place with some more favored, at different hours of the night; in other cases the outside ones frozen to death. An occurrence of almost every day during the winter. No amount of clothing will keep a man warm who is deprived of food.

STATEMENT OF J. M'ILVAINE.

"I belong to the ninth Maryland; was taken prisoner at Charlestown, Virginia, October 18, 1863; marched to Staunton 24th, there until Monday 26th; about 9 A. M. took cars for Richmond; got there about daybreak 27th; marched to tobacco warehouse, stayed to November 1, about 1½ o'clock; about 450 were in the cellar. The ground was wet all the time from a hydrant which leaked on the ground. The warehouse was four stories high, full of prisoners; bars in the windows, but no glass. Got wheat bread about size of a rusk twice a-day with a piece of meat not equal to one-fourth of our rations, and the bread not equal to two hard tack. The meat stunk so we could hardly take it. The guards used to hallo in to us—'Yankees, how does horse meat eat?'

"To Belle Island November 1. No shelter of any kind; nothing but naked earth until last of January, when five hundred went away. We got into an old tent which sheltered us from the wind, but not from the rain. Our overcoats, blankets, shoes and dress coats and money were taken from us at Charlestown as soon as we were taken. Over one thousand dollars was taken from our regiment. They said when we were paroled they would give it back, but they never gave a dollar, and said they never would; they would do just as our government did.

"About ten thousand were there at Christmas. In each corner of the square, holes were dug for drinking water. The ground was so low that water came at about one and a half feet from the top of the ground. During the day so many were allowed to go outside of the ditch next to the river about twenty to thirty feet, but a great many of the men were not able who were suffering from diarrhoea. The gates were closed about sun down. Sometimes the water in these holes out of which we were to drink would be as filthy as in holes of a barn-yard.

"The first month we got one piece of corn bread and such meat as we got in the warehouse. After that no meat, corn bread twice a day, unless some of the guard reported us, then we could get only one piece and sometimes none. The average of deaths must have been twenty to thirty a day, and they have laid unburied for days, five men lay unburied for nine days."

STATEMENT OF REV. W. H. TIFFANY.

Rev. William H. Tiffany, M. E. church, Charlton, Saratoga county, N. Y., as delegate chaplain of the United States Christian Commission, on the Blackstone; W. C. Berry, of Stamford, Conn., Captain. Left Fortress Monroe November 8th, in company with the fleet of seventeen vessels, for Savannah. There were no prisoners on the Blackstone going south. Saw on the George Leary, a lot of about four to five hundred, who seemed in good spirits and condition, and apparently well clothed. We arrived at Hilton Head on the ———, we left it on November 20, arrived at Venus point eight or nine miles northeast of Savannah, in river that evening; on 21st we loaded five hundred and sixty-five of our men. Col. Mulford

said, as we had no berths, he would give us the best of the returning prisoners. There were at least twenty in the first stages of fever, and fit subjects for the hospital, yet all walked on board. There were six or seven we feared could not live, but by careful nursing they were brought to Annapolis and carried ashore. After we had landed our men, we went out to the Atlantic which drew too much water to get to the dock, and took her men. There seemed about the same number of men; of these there were seven who had died on the passage, one died while we were carrying him to the wharf, and two appeared to be dying as they were carried ashore. The prisoners on board the Atlantic appeared in a pitiable condition, while fifty or sixty carried on an upper deck were in a horrible condition, living, dying skeletons, filthy with vermin, and *nearly, if not quite a dozen naked and with no covering but the blanket furnished by our government.* Of the fifty or sixty, they were mostly so weak that I had to lift their heads to get them in a different position. One of these asked me to help him to turn over, the bones had worn through his skin. Part of the crew of the B. helped me to put on shirts and drawers, furnished by the Christian Commission, on those naked.

The fifty or sixty did not speak harshly or vindictively, but sadly and mournfully of their cruel treatment by the South. In regard to food they were kept on short allowance on the most trifling excuse and persecuted in various ways. Some of them had money which they hid in their bread and meat. When a young man from Norwich, Conn., came on board the Blackstone at Savannah, he said he had eaten nothing but raw salt meat for several days, had a terrible diarrhoea, and wanted some food suitable to his case.

Of the captain, W. C. Berry, the mate, George G. Fletcher, steward, Philip Collaman, and the three engineers, Joseph J. Illingworth, John Illingworth and Timothy Leary, and the crew generally, too much could not be said of their kindness, sympathy and generosity towards these men.

Dr. A. Chapel, Surgeon in charge at West building hospital, and whom we saw at the boat when a load of our men arrived, wrote to Mr. Wade, chairman of the committee on part of the war as follows:

"BALTIMORE, May 26, 1864.

"I am very sorry that your committee could not have seen those cases when first received. No one from these pictures (photographs) can form a true estimate of their condition then. Not one in ten was able to stand alone; some of them were so covered and eaten by vermin, that they nearly resembled cases of small pox, and so emaciated that they were *really* living skeletons, and hardly that, as the result shows, forty out of one hundred and four have died up to this date.

"If there has been anything so horrible, so fiendish, as this wholesale starvation, in the history of this satanic rebellion, I have failed to note it. Better the massacres at Lawrence, Fort Pillow and Plymouth, than to be thus starved to death by inches, through long and weary months. I wish I had possessed the power to compel all the northern sympathizers with this rebellion, to come in and look upon the work of the *chivalrous* sons of the *hospitable* and sunny south, when these skeletons were first received here. A rebel colonel, a prisoner here, who stood with sad face looking on as they were received, finally shook his head and walked away, apparently ashamed that he held any relation to men who could be guilty of such deeds."

To the individual testimony of one from Belle Island, one from Libby, with the observation of Mr. Tiffany, we give the paper drawn up by our officers at Charleston, pleading on behalf of the prisoners at Andersonville.

CONFEDERATE STATES PRISON,
CHARLESTON, S. C., August, 1864. }

To the President of the United States:

"For some time past there has been a concentration of prisoners from all points of the Rebel territory to the State of Georgia—the *commissioned* officers being confined at Macon and the *enlisted men* at Andersonville. Recent movements of the Union troops, under General Sherman, have compelled the removal of prisoners to other points, and it is now understood that they will be removed to Savannah, Columbus and Charleston. No change of this kind holds out any prospect of re-

lief to our poor men. Indeed, as the localities selected are far more unhealthy, there must be an increase of suffering."

"Colonel Hill, Provost Marshal General of Confederate States, at Atlanta, stated to one of the undersigned that there were thirty-five thousand prisoners at Andersonville, and by all accounts from the United States prisoners who have been confined there, the number is not overstated by him. These thirty-five thousand are confined in a field of some thirty acres, enclosed by a board fence, heavily guarded. About one-third have various kinds of indifferent shelter. The rest, without any, are exposed to the rains and storms, the cold dews of the night, and the more terrible effects of the sun, with almost tropical fierceness, upon their unprotected heads. This mass of men jostle and crowd each other up and down the limits of their enclosure by day, and at night lie upon the naked earth, with only the clothing they had when they came, few having blankets."

"Upon entering the prison every one is deliberately stripped of money and other property, and as *no clothing or blankets are ever supplied to their prisoners*, the condition of soldiers just from an active campaign can be easily imagined. Thousands are without pants or coats, and hundreds even without a pair of drawers to cover their nakedness."

To these men is issued three-fourths of a pound of bread or meal, and one-eighth of a pound of meat per day. Upon this the prisoner must live or die. The meal often unsifted and sour—the meat North would be consigned to a soap barrel. By this they are barely holding life together. To the starvation and exposure add the sickness by which, on an average, one hundred die daily."

"'Of twelve of us,' said one, 'who were captured, six died and four are in the hospital. I never expect to see them again. There are but two of us left.' In 1862, at Montgomery, Alabama, under more favorable circumstances, where the prisoners were protected by sheds, one hundred and fifty to two hundred were sick from diarrhoea and chills out of seven hundred. This per cent. would give seven thousand at Andersonville."

The blood of the martyrs, it is said, was the seed of the church, but not more truly so than such men will prove the sowing afresh in the hearts of the people of this nation and the world, the seeds of liberty. Little have we felt personally so as to be able to prize the inheritance which our fathers fought for us.

We look on these horrors, in the cruel treatment of our men, as next to impossible—as if they had never been endured before—and indeed it is seldom that such treatment has ever been bestowed on men; particularly by those who pretend to civilization and christianity.

A young man on a flag-of-truce boat, connected with the Sanitary Commission, gave us an extract from a report which one of our paroled men had found in Richmond, which showed that in the hospitals of our men at Richmond, out of two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine in hospitals, in January, February and March, one thousand three hundred and ninety-six had died. But laying aside all other statements or calculations, and all editorials commending cruel treatment towards our prisoners, let one single fact speak. The Richmond "Examiner" of November 10, 1864, says:

"Since the establishment of the prison post at Andersonville, Georgia, last Spring twelve thousand of the Yankee prisoners held there have died and been buried there, and this mortality existed among a body of prisoners at no time exceeding forty thousand."

That is, such has been the neglect or brutality on the part of the Rebel authorities that nearly one-third of our men have died in their hands.

L. L. Key, who acted as chief of police at Andersonville on the execution, says—"When I arrived there were some 4,000 prisoners—but

the number increased, till in September there were 32,000 to 35,000. In August and September the deaths were from 75 to 125 per day.

Horrible as were the horrors of the revolution, and terribly as they did suffer, there is nothing to compare in magnitude with this destruction, and the *animus* of it bears out the statement of a Captain who saw a man treated so badly that he remonstrated with the Surgeon and guard, saying, that if they did not treat them better they would kill them. To which the Surgeon replied, with an oath, "That is what we want to do."

Let us compare this with English treatment of our fathers—1776 to 1782—the men who suffered—whose lives were worn out inch by inch in the prison ships of hollow-hearted, sanctimonious, selfish England. No parallel has been seen since in this country until this imprisonment of Libby, Belle Island, Andersonville, &c.

"The story of the prisons in the city of New York, and the prison ships in the Wallabocht bay, during the war for our independence, was the darkest in the history of the Revolutionary struggle. War, at all times dreadful here assumed its most fearful character. Occasional acts of inhumanity and cowardly brutality committed in the heat of battle when the thirst for blood is whetted by its indulgence, may be excused, as the temporary triumph of passion and vengeance over reason and humanity; but for the cold, calculating cruelty, regularly adopted, and steadily pursued towards our unfortunate countrymen, there was no excuse. The voice of civilization and humanity cried out against it, and the results proved that an insulted Providence frowned upon it with fearful indignation.

"Savage nations sometimes put their prisoners to death, but this has never been openly practiced by the civilized nations of the earth. The custom of the cultivated nations of antiquity, of selling their prisoners into slavery, met the most positive reprobation in the beginning of the feudal ages, and the system of ransom, which was then adopted, yielded, early in the seventeenth century, to the more liberal and humane policy of exchange of prisoners under *cartels*. Until that exchange took place the law of nations as well as the principles of humanity required the belligerent parties to provide proper accommodations for their prisoners and to supply them with healthy food, and in case of sickness with proper medical attendance. How England observed these rules in the case of our imprisoned countrymen the civilized nations of the world may judge.

"The battle of Brooklyn, and the capture of Fort Washington, in the Fall of 1776, put the British in possession of nearly *four thousand prisoners*, and by the arrest of citizens supposed to sympathize with the patriots they soon increased the number to *five thousand*. Our enemies were now compelled to adopt the system of parole, or to turn all the public and other large buildings in New York into prisons for their reception. Their feelings of humanity as well as their cowardly policy led them to adopt the latter course. *The churches and sugar houses and prisons were crowded with the unfortunate patriots* to such an extent, in some instances, that *there was not space for them to lie down to rest*. Among them they threw their own criminals—vile wretches gathered from the purlieus of their large cities, as if they were fit asso-

ciates for men whose only crime had been love of country and liberty. But this moral pestilence did not suffice to gratify their malice; for in these crowded prisons they scattered the seeds of disease and death. The prisoners were poorly fed on worm-eaten bread and peas, and putrid beef, which not unfrequently they were compelled to eat in its raw state; and the more surely to accomplish the objects contemplated, those sick with small-pox and infectious fevers were left among them unattended, without medicines to relieve them or water to cool their parched lips. Denied the light and air of Heaven, and starved by their inhuman keepers, and broken-hearted by the supplications and groans of their distressed kindred and countrymen, they sickened and died, and were thrown like dogs into their native soil, unless it happened to be the good pleasure of Cunningham, their infamous jailor, to march them out under the cover of midnight darkness to the gallows and the grave.

“These executions were thus conducted. A guard was despatched from the Provost, about half-past twelve at night, to the Barrack-street and the neighborhood of the upper barracks, to order the people to shut their window shutters and put out their lights, forbidding them at the same time to presume to look out of their windows and doors, on pain of death; after which the unfortunate prisoners were conducted, gagged, just behind the upper barracks, and hung without ceremony, and buried by the black pioneer of the Provost. Thus about two hundred and sixty American prisoners were murdered without cause, and in violation of every law, human and divine.

“While these horrid deeds and instruments of destruction went on in the city, vessels which they had previously converted into *prison ships*, at Gravesend bay, were now removed to the Hudson and East rivers, where they were anchored for the same purposes. The soldiers taken prisoners on Long Island, and confined in these vessels, were transferred to the prisons in New York, to make room for the marine prisoners, now rapidly accumulating.

“About October 20th, 1776, the *Whitby*, a large transport, was removed to the Wallaboicht bay, and moored opposite “*Remsen’s Mill*.” She was the first prison ship in this bay, and was crowded with prisoners when she arrived. Many prisoners from the army, and citizens arrested on suspicion were confined in her, which was not the ease with the other prison ships. She was said to be the most sickly of all the hulks, and the only prison ship in the bay until 1777; and during two months in the Spring of that year, the entire beach, between the ravine and Demser’s Dock, was filled with graves; and before the first day of May, the ravine itself was filled with the remains of the hundreds who died from pestilence, or were starved to death in this dreadful prison.

“May, 1777, two more ships came, and the *Whitby’s* prisoners were transferred to them; but they were almost as sickly as the other. No exchanges took place, but death made room for the early arrivals. On Sunday afternoon, after the middle of October, 1777, one of these vessels was burned, many prisoners perishing in the flames. Another burnt in February, 1778.

“These were succeeded by the *Good Hope*, *Scorpion*, *Prince of Wales*, *John*, *Falmouth*, *Hunter*, *Stromboli* and *Old Jersey*; all of

which were used in this service. In them thousands of our unfortunate countrymen suffered and died, from the inhuman treatment received from the English. So great was their suffering, that they were induced to set fire to the ships which were burned, hoping thus either to secure their liberty, or hasten their death.

“Better the greedy wave should swallow all,
Better to meet the death conducting ball;
Better to sleep on ocean's oozy bed,
At once destroyed, and numbered with the dead,
Than thus to perish in the face of day,
Where twice ten thousand deaths one death delay.”

“William Burke, from Newport, Delaware, was confined 14 months in the Old Jersey. He saw many Americans put to death by the bayonet. During the hot weather, the prisoners were admitted, one at a time, on deck through the night. When this was granted, they assembled in a crowd around the gate at the hatchway for the purpose of getting air, and to take their turn to go on deck. Often sentinels would thrust their bayonets down among them with the most wanton cruelty. Twenty-five cases were thus butchered in one night. Other witnesses speak of four, six, eight and ten victims thus murdered at times.

“On July 4th, 1782, they received the most brutal treatment because they wanted to observe that day. They were driven at the point of the bayonet below deck long before the usual hour. After the hatches were closed, they supposed they might sing a few songs for their bleeding country; but the guards directed them to stop, and went down among them with lanterns in one hand and cutlasses in the other, driving the crowd of defenseless victims before them, cutting and wounding all within their reach.

“In 1782, when Alexander Coffin was sent a prisoner on the Old Jersey, he found about *eleven hundred prisoners* there, many of whom, during the severity of the Winter, were without clothing to keep them warm. To remedy this evil, they were compelled to keep below, and either get into their hammocks, or walk the deck, which was almost impossible. In this way they could keep from freezing, by using great efforts, but it was not always done. We have an account of one poor fellow whose feet and legs were frozen. The toes and flesh falling from his feet while the nurse was dressing them.

“To cap the climax of infamy, Coffin says, they fed the prisoners on putrid beef and pork, and worm-eaten bread, which had been condemned on their ships of war. It was full of vermin, but they had to eat it, worms and all, or starve.

“The knowledge of these things was not confined to the petty officers and guards; their superiors knew it, and the ministers of the English Government had knowledge of them. They were not the results of circumstances nor the fruits of temporary passion. Their cruelty was a part of their policy, deliberately and remorselessly pursued.

“General Washington remonstrated in a letter to Admiral Digby, ‘If the fortunes of war, sir, has thrown a number of these miserable people into your hands, I am certain your excellency’s feelings for the men must induce you to proportion the ships to their accommodation and comfort, and not by crowding them together in a few ships, bring on diseases which consign them by the half-dozen to the grave.’

“Before this, on January 13th, 1777, he had written to Howe: ‘I am sorry that I am under the disagreeable necessity to trouble your lordship with a letter, wholly almost on the subject of the cruel treatment which our officers and men receive in the naval department who are unhappy enough to fall into your hands. Without descending to particulars, I call upon your lordship to say whether any treatment of your officers and men has merited so severe retaliation. I am bold to say it has not. * * * And I hope, on making the proper inquiry, you will have the matter so regulated that the unhappy persons in captivity, may not in the future have the miseries of cold, disease and famine added to their other misfortunes. Again, those who have lately been sent out give the most shocking accounts of their barbarous usage, which their miserable emaciated countenances confirm.’

“During all this time, every attempt to relieve the sufferings of the prisoners, either by their friends, or on the part of the Government, was ingeniously defeated. If money or supplies were sent, they were appropriated by their jailors. If an exchange was agreed upon, the prisoners were not sent out until they had been reduced to skeletons, by starvation and disease. Thus rendered unfit for future service, they returned, many of them only to find graves at home.”—*Mar-tys to the Revolution, in British Prison Ships*, p. 60: New York, 1855. See also 2d vol. *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, pp 659-661.

England has set the leaders of this rebellion an example of the way in which to treat prisoners. They have imitated them so well that the history of one, by change of dates and places, would be the history of the other. The late returns from Savannah are so many additional witnesses to the fact of the want of food, clothing and shelter.

MILITARY PRISON AT POINT LOOKOUT.

On December 16, 1863, we wrote to Colonel W. Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners at Washington, for permission to visit and preach in the camp at Point Lookout. In a few days we received the following letter:

OFFICE OF COMMISSARY GENERAL OF PRISONERS, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 18, 1863. }

Rev. A. B. Cross, U. S. Christian Commission, Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 16th instant, requesting permission to visit Point Lookout for the purpose of preaching to the prisoners is received, and I beg to inform you that orders have been given to the commanding officer, to permit clergymen to address the prisoners, if they desire it, and for this purpose you need no further permission. None but relatives are allowed to visit prisoners, and only in cases of illness or other urgent cause.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. HOFFMAN,
Col. 3rd Infantry, Com. Gen. of Prisoners.

On January 21st 1864, we went to Fortress Monroe with a lot of boxes of food and clothing for our men at Richmond to send by Major Mulford in the flag of truce boat. Coming up on the 22d we stopped at Point Lookout. In the morning we called on General Marsden,

general commanding—visited the camp, made engagement for preaching and took a general review of the whole ground, hospitals, &c. The general had sent word to the commissary in the camp, and he had tried to secure us a place for preaching on the next day, the Sabbath. We concluded on the unoccupied cook house near the gate, in case of rain or snow, which would hold about five hundred persons. Sabbath being pleasant we preferred preaching in the open air, which we did to a very large and very attentive congregation. The Rev. Mr. Ambrose, chaplain of the 12th New Hampshire, of whom we will speak again, came in. The Rev. W. W. Walker, a Methodist preacher from an adjoining county, who had been captured in a raid a short time before, was there. In the afternoon preached for the contrabands—then in the first six wards of the hospital—at night spoke in the chapel.

On Monday 25th, examined the camps of the New Hampshire regiments on guard, went into the prisoners' camp, it being dinner time, went into the house where was a table for several hundred, perhaps five hundred. Every man had his provision before him of meat, soup and crackers. Remarked that it was a substantial dinner. All within reach readily assented, except an Irishman near the door who began to complain. We remarked he certainly could not complain of quantity. No. Of quality? No. After dinner we had a meeting in the cook house which the commissary had prepared on Saturday.

Mr. Ambrose suggested whether we could not get the house for meetings, which we mentioned to General Marsden and secured. It was used until they were removed to the house at the other end, where they have since held schools and meetings.

Point Lookout is a tract of land lying at the extreme south of the western shore of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Chesapeake Bay, south and south-west by the Potomac river—on the north by an inlet of water which almost makes it an island, there being not more than one hundred feet wide connecting it with the mainland, and that for one quarter of a mile deep sand. The land on the Point is level, no portion of it being above ten to fifteen feet above the level of the bay and river. Beginning at a point or sand bar formed by the current of wind and tide which on each side throws up the sand, then north along the Chesapeake bay about a mile and a half to where the strip of narrow sand connects it with the main land, then an inlet from the Potomac runs out to the river on a line of about three-fourths of a mile. Here in a sort of cove the shore commences and runs gradually to a point with a slight curvature until it reaches the bay.

In going down the Potomac—and also down the bay—vessels have to *steer* out to pass Smith's Point on the south side of the Potomac, from which the probability is that it received its name—Lookout—the point from which you must *look out*.

Above the upper end of the point an arm of the bay runs in toward the Potomac, which is called *Point Look-in*. Not far above is what appears to be a point but is not, and is called *Point no Point*. At the south side of Patuxent is Cedar Point, which makes out and is really a point. From which ran the old saying among sailors—

Point Look-out and Point Look-in,
Point no Point, and Point Again.

At Point Lookout is a light house; at the upper end or the narrow passage is a gate, with guard and cannon, now a fort; on the outside of this narrows is a regiment on guard. Also south of this and outside of the Point on which are the prisoners separated by this inlet of water, is the small-pox hospital, consisting of a house, tents, &c. A short distance from the gate on the lines of the point on the bay shore, we had first what was called the *rejected camp*. Men out of the rebel camp who had applied to be admitted into our army, but were rejected on account of physical inability. Next was a regiment, the first United States volunteers, who had taken the oath and entered our service. To all these men we have often preached and furnished them while there with books, papers, &c., as far as we could. They were afterwards sent to Norfolk where they did provost duty. From a very careful observation of the men for several months, we could say nothing but in commendation of them, and of Lieutenant Colonel Dimond and Major Weymouth who were in charge of them. Next was the fifth New Hampshire—nearest to the rebel camp. On the Potomac opposite the camp was the twelfth New Hampshire, running up to the inlet of water; further down on the river but adjoining was the second New Hampshire, nearer the point and between the river and road which runs to the point was a Wisconsin battery. Within these lines east of the road and along the bay was the prisoners' camp, including a tract of about forty acres; then the officers' camp—both enclosed with a plank fence about ten to twelve feet high. Nearer the point was the contraband camp, wagons, stable, carpenter shop, houses for workmen, and the cow yard. Then a ditch crossing from the bay runs to a small inlet or lake which empties into the Potomac, making the point almost an island.

On the remainder of the land or the point proper is located the *Hammond Hospital*—extending from the Chesapeake shore to the Potomac, the waters of each of which reach extreme ends of the wards. Starting from a centre there are three buildings about seventy-five feet long each, and about thirty feet wide. One is a kitchen department, another a chapel, the third a library room, and for the knapsacks, &c., of the men, fronting on a covered circular platform. Between these are two or three covered ways, with plank floor elevated above the ground, extending about a hundred feet to a circular covered way with plank floor as before three to four feet above ground. Facing on this are fifteen wards of about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in length and about thirty feet in width, with large windows on each side, the front door of each opening on the circle. From this circle and between two of these buildings is a covered way which runs out to a large dining room connected with which is a kitchen, this building running at right angles to the passage and being entered midway on the side next the centre. Here are tables and seats for one thousand to fifteen hundred persons. To this table all those who are able or permitted by surgeons come to their meals. At the end of each of the wards next the circle is a room in which the provisions are brought from the diet kitchen, for all who are not able in that ward to go out or for whom the fare of the full diet is not permissible—from these rooms it is distributed to each patient in the ward. In all

of these wards are iron bedsteads with mattresses, sheets and blankets, extending along each side of the ward, between which is an entry or space of about ten to twelve feet. In this are several stoves by which unless in extremely severe weather, the wards are kept comfortable.

In this same circle, built as the wards, but two story in height, with rooms on each side of the entry, is what is called the Executive Building, in which is the dispensary, office of surgeon in charge, the clothes, furniture, &c., rooms of surgeons, chaplain, &c., &c.

In the centre of the whole is a well and force-pump, designed to supply water to a reservoir, on an elevation above the houses, out of which it was carried in pipes to all parts of the hospital and to the bath-room, at the pump; but the water being so strong of iron it is necessary to bring water from another pump some hundred yards from this.

Outside of the plan of the Hospital proper are rows of one-story cottages, facing the bay, and others at right angles facing on two streets, which were designed for the use of the Point as a watering place before the erection of the Hospital. Before the war Point Look-out was a fashionable resort and bathing place. About half-way along the shore is a large yellow frame building, two stories, well-built and comfortable, which was occupied as the headquarters of General Marsden, then in command—now by General Barnes. The cottages are used as hospitals, with the exception of those that have been occupied by surgeons, the officers of the department, the sisters of charity, &c. The hotel building is a hospital, excepting a few rooms occupied by the Commission.

On the roads leading from the wharves, at the Potomac, are warehouses for commissary stores, a large bakery, large supplies of wood and coal—then a sutler's house, ice-house, bakery, commissary, laundry, and guard house—a row of buildings occupied by various persons, living here, in connection with the Government employment—another row in which is the post-office, Provost Marshal, &c., various photographers, some boarding houses, &c. Lately they have erected a house, designed as a hotel or boarding house, to accommodate such persons as have business requiring them to visit the Point. North of the commander's, and running to the main road, containing six to eight, perhaps ten acres, is a pine grove which adds greatly to the relief of the level surface of the Point. A general idea of the place thus given will be more fully fixed in the mind by reference to the map which we place in this pamphlet, and by reference to which the reader will be able more intelligibly to understand the description.

There were eight to nine thousand prisoners. Of these about one thousand were in the Hammond General Hospital. Dr. Hagar is Surgeon in charge and director, and Dr. Thompson in charge of the camp. The small-pox hospital has had several changes. The general hospital and the camp had no chaplain. Beside the rebel wounded in the Hammond Hospital, many of whom were wounded at Gettysburg, there were also from one to two hundred of our own men sick and wounded. The Second New Hampshire regiment had only within a short time secured a chaplain, Rev. Mr. Adams, who had his hands full in his regiment. The contrabands had the Rev. Mr. Leonard, just

appointed to see after them and reconnoitre the county in regard to negro affairs. The Rev. Mr. F. L. Ambrose was chaplain of the Twelfth New Hampshire.

He was a perfect stranger to us before we here met him; but a more kind, unassuming, brotherly minister, ready to do anything, at any hour of the night, in any kind of weather, for anybody who was in want or trouble, we have never met. He moved quietly but diligently round in his own regiment, in the hospital, in the camp, everywhere doing good. He was a most decided and firm man, ready to yield his life, as he afterwards did, for his country. At the battle of Chancellorsville scarcely a soldier in the army exposed himself more than he did, in rendering every help in his power to his regiment, and especially in attending upon and removing the wounded. At Petersburg, when his regiment, in the eighteenth corps, was exposed to the most terrible fire of the enemy, he was there among them. Every day, when we would call at the eighteenth corps hospital, in the rear of his regiment, inquiring for him, we would be sure to hear he was either here this morning, or last night, or he is here now. When his regiment were in the trenches he was wont to go in among them and attend to them. As he was leaving, one day, a ball which was supposed to be a stray shot from some of the rebel works, went through his leg, between the knee and thigh. He was taken to the Chesapeake Hospital, at Fortress Monroe, where we heard he was doing well, but on going to see him we learned that his wound had commenced bleeding and that he had died from it. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

It is of this man, so loyal, so faithful, so loving to his country, that we wish to say, that he looked after the men in the camp as if they had been his own charge. Nothing that he could do for them which was right and proper would he refuse to do. Where they were in want he tried to get that want supplied, in trouble to comfort them, preaching to them the Gospel, praying with them, ministering to their dying, furnishing books, papers, tracts, &c., from every quarter that he could. We will cherish through life as one of its green spots the period which we spent with him at Point Lookout and in front of Petersburg. The knowledge of his death will make many sorry who have been in the camp and hospital, as it did many who are now there. He was a minister of the Congregationalist church. The Rev. Mr. Adams, of the Second, who was there but a short time, is now with his regiment, north of the James. The more we have seen of him the more we feel interested in him. He belongs to the Methodist church and is from New Hampshire.

We found at the Point everything that could be asked for, furnished by the Government, but were somewhat disappointed in regard to the police arrangement, in which the convenience, comfort and health of the camp and the community suffered. It was mud from the wharf to the Point, from the Point to the camp, and with some difficulty you could pass to the camp would getting into the mud. We allow for the wet weather, but there were plenty of men who would work, and there was plenty of gravel to remedy it. What was wanting was ditching, draining and graveling.

There was difficulty in getting a place to board and a room in which

to sleep and to keep the books, papers, tracts, &c., which were needed for so many persons. Dr. Walton very kindly gave us the use of his office for books, &c., until we could secure one. Not having a tent and not being able to get a room, we applied to Gen. Marsden for a lot on which to set up a small shanty. To this he agreed, but could not furnish the lumber. Before building we went to see Gen. Butler, and asked him to give us the lumber. Having stated the condition of things—the number of prisoners, no chaplain, there being one nominally, who had not been in attendance for months, the number of the bad cases of the wounded, who were dying, and so many more that must die; that if we had a convenient place, we would secure what help we could from our commission, that if we had such a place we would procure Dr. Junkin for a while. Dr. J. having gone down with us before on a trip for his health and called on the General. It was at this time that the General said, and not as some one wrongfully published: “Please inform the chaplain for me, that he must resign, if he is not able to perform his service, and if he gets able to engage in his work again, and desires it, I will see that he gets another place. If he has the spirit of his master he won’t want to hinder the work being done by another, which he can’t do himself. In that event I will appoint Dr. Junkin there, and let the government pay the expenses instead of your commission. I won’t furnish you lumber. The government has no lumber to spare; but when you go back, make out a written application to Gen. Marsden for such rooms as you need. Dr. Hagar has room in the hospital unoccupied.” On returning, we made application accordingly, and received the rooms which the commission has since been occupying.

Since that the Rev. D. D. McKee has been appointed and has acted with great acceptance as Chaplain to the Hospital. The Rev. Mr. Leonard has also been appointed and acted as chaplain in the camp; lately he has gone to some other place.

The prisoners in the hospital had the liberty of the hospital grounds, which enabled those able to walk to visit any places within the limits. We wrote to a gentleman in New York, who has a heart for every good work, stating the ease, and he authorized us to go to a publishing house and select out of the catalogue such books, &c., as we thought desirable and he would give an order for them. We called on our commission also for books, papers, &c., all of which we received.

We then invited in passing any of the men who were in these wards and connected with the hospital, to come in at certain hours of every morning to take such books, papers or tracts as they desired, read and return. In each ward we secured men to collect them and furnish them to those who could not come out, and also to distribute papers and tracts among them. In this way we had the fifteen wards of the circle regularly supplied; and others did the same in the buildings outside of the circle. Each of these men reported the condition of the men in their wards, enabling us daily to see the worst cases and give them such attention as was in our power.

In the camp we sought the aid of a few brethren who had charge of a tent, called the *Library Tent*, in which, and through which we furnished books, tracts, &c. for distribution in the different wards, so as to

extend as far as we could the papers, tracts, hymn books, &c., making inquiry always of any who wanted testaments. The Maryland State Bible Society, through the labors of Mr. Baker, their agent, did a good work in furnishing over 13,500 testaments, with 590 copies of the bible to such as needed them, from January 1, 1864, to December, 1864.

At this time there was some difficulty in regard to furnishing to the prisoners boxes of clothing, &c., sent to them. Learning also from Mr. Shoemaker, of the Adams Express that there were boxes in his charge which he could not deliver, we went to see Mr. Stanton. He immediately said, send him a line, stating the fact, and he would issue an order for their delivery. Mr. Shoemaker wrote to Gen. Butler at same time, who also sent an order for their delivery.

The Rev. Mr. Walker, of whom we have spoken before, requested us to ask Gen. Marsden to grant him an interview, saying he had never been in the war, was exempt in his own country as a minister, would not only give his parole to take no part in the war, or if paroled, would endeavor to secure in exchange any person who would be considered an equivalent. We mentioned his case to the general, but he did not see anything that he could do. On seeing him the next time, and stating what the general had said, he was very much cast down. Trying to cheer him, we said we believe God has sent you here for some purpose, see if you can't find it out. You may find it the best field of labor you ever had, or ever will have in your life, and you may look back in eternity and praise God for this more than for any other period. There are many here who can't read. If you would only get them stirred up to learn, it would be a great thing. If you didn't teach you could get others. If you will get the scholars and teachers we will see that you get the books. Thus was started a little movement, which has grown until more than a thousand are regularly engaged, and from simply starting to learn to read, classes have been formed in reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, natural philosophy, the higher branches of mathematics, Latin, Greek, German, &c.

The encouragement, continuance and perfection of this work is due to Mr. Alonzo Morgan, of Sumpter, S. C., one of their engineer corps, who has devoted himself with a diligence and zeal, truly philanthropic, to aid his fellow prisoners of this school. Mr. Morgan entered upon it the 10th of March, and on the 22d of April writes as follows :

"We have had our regular exercises every day, with the exception of days of snow and heavy rains, not exceeding three in all. We have one hundred and fifty men learning to read, and nearly as many more in the writing classes. The English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Modern and Ancient Geography and History, Geometry, Book-keeping, Algebra, Latin and Dictionary classes are all large and well attended, some of which are divided into three sections, each containing fifty or sixty pupils. But our Arithmetic class is probably the most interesting. It is divided into seven sections, commencing with numeration and extending to the most thorough instruction in the science.

One of these sections contains sixty students. The teachers have displayed fine talents in their several departments, coupled with the most laudable zeal for the cause. The following gentlemen are regularly engaged and have classes assigned them, which meet once or twice every day. These with several others, who are occasionally called in for temporary engagements form a corps of teachers of which any institution might be proud. The books, stationery, &c., which you and other friends of education have contributed have been turned to the best account.

Teachers.—K. J. Gwaltney, J. D. Blackwell, W. S. Arbogast, G. N. Footman,

W. A. Coates, J. Hughes, I. W. Free, P. R. Piper, J. J. White, J. N. Strout, T. Newman, A. G. Newman, E. P. Moore, D. C. Smith, H. J. Carter, M. C. Bell.

I believe we are doing all we can with the means at our disposal, but could we obtain larger supplies of books and stationery we might be able to extend the field of labor so as to include many of our comrades who are now spending the long weary days of their captivity in idleness and vice.

Returning to you, and all those kind christians, who have displayed such generosity in supplying our necessities, our sincere thanks, I subscribe myself,

With respect, yours truly,

A. MORGAN,

Supt. P. W. C. School."

To Rev. A. B. Cross.

[Since the date of this letter, the school has gone on increasing until as many as twelve hundred are daily engaged.]

March 2nd, Gen Butler came to the Point to make arrangements in regard to paroling for exchange a number of prisoners. After preaching in the camp Mr. Walker asked if we could not see Gen. Butler in his case. We called on him in the evening; mentioned it. "I will exchange for such a man." We said we were perfectly satisfied if he could. He said he would bear it in mind. He sent for, and had an interview with him. When the flag of truce boat came up he was proposed in exchange for one of our colporteurs. The papers made out and all in readiness as we supposed, when the provost marshal said "he could not go." "Too busy to attend to it." We said, "Gen. Butler, when here was not too busy to hear it, nor too forgetful when he went to Fortress Monroe to find a man and arrange for his exchange." It was arranged in time for him to get on the boat.

Captain Little, who lost his arm at Gettysburg, through some meanness on the part of officers lately from Johnson's Island, captured only a few months before, was thrown out of the list of exchange. His case was no sooner mentioned than the General asked if his name was on the list. His clerk said, no. "Put it on, and write Judge Ould, I send Captain Little, as special exchange." The bell rang, and in ten minutes the boat sailed.

That day they commenced digging ditches, hauling gravel, mending the roads, draining the ground, and a distributing of the shoes, &c. The General had upset the arrangement of the Rebel officers and directed that the oldest captured should go first. There was a sort of shout among the prisoners in the camp and many in the hospital on hearing what he had done. He had also ordered attention to the policing of the ground, &c.

Dr. Thompson, the surgeon in charge of the camp seemed grateful for the General's visit. For three months he had urged this police improvement without effect. From that visit a new face was put on the camp and the Point which has continued until this present time. The camp in general is well drained, and on the whole as comfortably fixed as is possible with so many men, and every attention is given to health, cleanliness and comfort. The Hospital department has been moved to a portion of the ground taken from the officer's camp, and in addition to the hospital tents, which are large and floored, there have been erected four barracks for hospitals, which are nice and comfortable quarters. Officers have said to us time and again, "If we were not prisoners we would like to come and stay here awhile merely for recreation and pleasure. It is this being in prison, not allowed to go beyond a certain

line, that is the trouble." In the camp time and again we have heard men say the same, "If it was not for the prison we would not mind it." Others, "We would just as soon stay here until the war is over as any place."

About 11 o'clock, March 17th, the flag-of-truce boat New York, started with nine hundred and sixty-eight Rebel prisoners for exchange. As many of the wounded as could safely go were on board. On leaving the wharf, bread and meat and coffee, all of which was in abundance, were given out, and again before we arrived at Fortress Monroe.

We gathered from Captain O. H. Miller, of Georgia, the following statement:

"He was of Longstreet's corps, Hood's division, Anderson's brigade, the Fifty-ninth Georgia regiment. Colonel Brown's regiment rested on the second day at Gettysburg, in front of the railroad cut, where the first day's fight was, until about twelve o'clock. Then marched to the right, on the west side of the branch and east of the McLean House—then to the Peach orchard and Brick house. The shelling was so heavy that we had to remove on through the Peach orchard and directly across *the rocks* in Plum Run. By them our regiment was split in two, but we advanced. I was on the right. Went across the little branch, over the fence into the woods, among rocks, on to where it was pretty level. Here formed the regiment, fixed bayonets and charged about sixty yards to the Union forces, where they had breast-works here and there. This was their first line. We fired about three volleys, and fell back and reformed lower down. Then made a charge on the same works and got possession of them, following up in the hollow, on the right, and got possession of Little Round Top and beyond it. Then the battery of three guns turned on us and made an awful destruction of men. We turned to the left and captured the three guns. We then came into a position where a cross fire from the enemy's infantry took us. On that little knoll I was wounded, and placed in the crevice of some rocks where I lay until daylight of the 3d. Our men at early dawn carried me away. Our men held position for two or three volleys. Reinforcements arriving we had to give up and fall back to original position. The Union men charged over me and took their old position. Several Union men sat down beside me, said it was a good place to rest and keep away from bullets. Our men made another charge and drove the Union men back about sixty yards, and continued until dark. The main body withdrew, taking with them what wounded they could and burying all they could. The Texans were on my right. The wound was a compound fracture of the upper third of my right thigh. I was taken to Hood's division hospital, on John Plank's farm, where was a surgeon of the Eleventh Georgia. They carried me to a tent, but said it was no use, I would certainly die. *They ordered me to the dead-house, where I remained fifteen days.* A young man of my company got a piece of rail and with a shirt tied my leg. When they took me into Plank's house they said, I would certainly die, to give me whatever stimulants I would have. After this a surgeon from Gettysburg came, and suggested Smith's Anterior and Post-splint, which they applied with success. But in that time my leg had shortened four and a-half inches and could not be helped. On twelfth of August was taken to the Field General Hospital—third November, West's Building Hospital—fifteenth to Fort McHenry—twenty-third and twenty-fourth to Point Lookout."

We give the particulars of this case in full, because first, it is the best description of the engagement on Round Top which we have come across, all the lines of which we had seen before; in the next place, it is one case of ten thousand, where a man has been left fifteen days in the dead-house and yet lives, and shows neglect by surgeons of their own men

This from Captain Little, of Fifty-Second North Carolina:

"The fifty-second North Carolina and sixty-second Mississippi, had a skirmish with the Union cavalry June 30. July, we moved toward Gettysburg. General Pettigrew had gone on expecting a heavy force, finding the Union force larger, he sent

back for fifty-second North Carolina, forty-second Mississippi and himself fell back two or three miles, having staid where we were all night. Early on morning of first, we came with the rest of Hill's corps. The whole road was filled with artillery coming where General Hill had selected his position; we turned to the right, were the extreme regiment. Company E was the extreme right of the line to observe the motions of the enemy and report.

Generals Archer and Davis to the left, were first annoyed by cavalry and sharpshooters, but kept position until the charge in the afternoon, when the whole line advanced to the hollow before you come to the Seminary ridge. We fell back and were relieved by Lane's brigade.

The McLean House was burned by order of Col. Marshall because of the sharpshooters firing upon us. The men burned it very reluctantly, but it was the only way we could get them out. We had no artillery. Burnt it as we were making the advance.

The fighting was principally to the left and very heavy. The eleventh and twenty-sixth of this brigade were very heavily pressed and the forty-seventh next to the fifty-second; Colonel Leaventhorp here. Colonel Burgwin of twenty-sixth killed in charge of this day. To the left Colonel Conally of fifty-fifth was in Davis' brigade.

The next morning where the eleventh and twenty-sixth met ours in a piece of woods there was desperate fighting. Some of the men who were in the fight said: *The men met within ten steps and fired. Some places we could distinguish the line by where the men fell, one was a Pennsylvania regiment. The ground was covered with men.* A great many of both sides. The eleventh and twenty-sixth, very large, were perfectly riddled of officers and men; the twenty-sixth carried in above one thousand men. That evening we went back to where we had advanced from in the charge and staid until late next afternoon. Second morning Pickett's division went down to our right, took position and staid that night. We could see artillery on Round Top, and cemetery hill. Some shells from these hills hit us.

Third, our brigade put in position to the left of Pickett's division, directly behind artillery, moved about and got in place about eleven. Generals Lee, Longstreet, Hill and a number of general officers met in a shady bottom near a little branch. Lee sat on a stump, was reading a paper of some kind a long time before the action. After one gun, the whole artillery, from the whole line opened on cemetery hill, with tremendous force, from one to three and a half, when it slackened and the order was given for advance. The whole line two deep. In the advance Pettigrew's brigade of Heath's division was to the left of Pickett's, as they advanced. Pickett doubled on Pettigrew. As they got up close they were thinned out very rapidly. Going over a fence on the Emmittsburg road was shot in arm. After firing was over, and Union men came out to take prisoners one of them with one of my men helped me to a house on the Taneytown road and afterwards on account of shells, back across a marsh and rocky place where laid all night; next morning was taken in ambulance to hospital of sixth corps, where Drs. Oakley and Chamberlain gave me every attention and through that saved my life. It was at John Trostle's house. I took the names of men who I hope to see when the war is over."

This is a republican government in which we all have some personal interest and right, and no man is worthy of his place in the country who will not feel for her honor as well as her justice—and no officers are fit for ruling in such a government who do not in some measure appreciate the words of Seneca, *sine bonitate nulla majestas*, "without goodness there can be no such thing as majesty,"—no government can be honorable and majestic, which will do mean things. If our government should pay men to furnish vaccine matter to prevent disease and suffering, must we wink at a man who would furnish bad vaccine matter? Just on the same principle, our prison camps are to hold secure our prisoners, and our hospitals to minister to and take care of the sick and wounded.

We feel thankful that our surgeons have been able to treat with success cases of wounded and suffering men. However much may be said of neglecting wounded men, Jesus did not blame the Samaritan (Luke 10: 34) for binding up, or pouring in oil and wine.

We ask proper treatment for our men in prison. Let us do what is *right* to those in our hands. With those whose home, friends, and associations are all south, we can bear, but not with northern men who have gone south and hold up for this rebellion. We found in this camp a man named Edey, from New York or Brooklyn, a zealous rebel, from a Texas regiment. It was in the severity of the winter when attention was needed promptly. We said to him in a company of others, go through the camp and find out any case of suffering. Let it be known that you are on the lookout for such cases, and if there be any and the provost marshal or quartermaster has not what is necessary, we will see that it is gotten. Mr. Edey never reported us one case.

One day *Mr. Morgan*, the teacher, said a man had come in two or three nights before, without a blanket—that he had come to his tent and he had to give him part of his, so that it was not comfortable to either of them. One of them was not well and was suffering from chills. He said he had gone to the keeper at the gate but he had damned him and ordered him off. He didn't blame the keeper of the gate, because he had so many annoyances from so many continually knocking and asking for things; but said *he* couldn't stand up against such a speech as some others could. We stated the case to the Captain. He said, "it was a lie, and he didn't care a damn—that nobody had gone in without a blanket." Having the man's name and ward, we gave it to the Surgeon of the Hospital, requesting him to go and see the case, which he did immediately, and ordered the man to the Hospital. Not satisfied with this we continued our investigation until we found out the truth. It appeared that this man had come in late at night; the Captain was not there, and whoever was in charge of the gate had permitted him to go in without inquiring whether he had a blanket.

The kindness, care and regard for the condition of the men, on the part of Drs. Thompson, Walton and others, is a credit to them as surgeons. The whole camp is in small divisions, over each of which is a surgeon from among the prisoners, whose business is to see to any man who is sick and needs attention—to report his case to the Surgeon of the Hospital, who for that day is in charge of the camp, who goes and examines into his case, and if needing care orders him to the Hospital, where he is attended to regularly and promptly.

Swearing is a qualification with some men for office. To keep such a gate, without cursing occasionally, would seem like forgetting his business. Some of the prisoners, of their own accord, said that the Captain was quite clever to them and did a great many things for them. Not long after we said something to him about wanting to get a pair of pantaloons for a man. He went in and brought out a pair, of his own accord, which we took and gave the man.

About once a week there is an inspection of the camp. All the prisoners take out all their goods of every kind from their tents, and each man displays his worldly all upon the gravel street. As the Captain, or Provost Marshal rides along, and each man standing up, he sees who seems to need pantaloons, or shirt, or jacket, or shoes—orders him out of the ranks, and away he goes toward the gate—so another,

and another, until you will sometimes see a small regiment of men, some for shoes, pantaloons, shirt or coat. In this way they are seen to. Of course here, like in every other department, one officer will think there is not much need for a thing that another will think important. Swearing officers would not always think giving a Bible, or preaching the Gospel to prisoners, a very important matter.

The *Officer's camp* of about ten to fifteen acres, lies parallel to the Prisoner's, with two rows of tents, and a cook-house in one corner of the camp. We do not recollect of there being over four hundred men in it at any time, unless for a night, when an exchange was being arranged.

The officers were in the wards among the wounded in the Hammond Hospital until late in March or early in April. Everything was quiet and went along very comfortably until about the middle of March. On the thirteenth of this month about three hundred and fifty rebel officers came from Johnson's Island or Elmira—among them General Jeff. Thompson and J. C. Breckinridge, son of General Breckinridge, who was in a few days exchanged, and General Thompson sent to Fort Delaware. Many of these officers were very gentlemanly and clever, behaving themselves as well as men could. Others were on the lookout for a way of escape. On their arrival the guards were doubled and greater strictness required in all who came in or went out of the lines of the hospital.

In a few days a suggestion was made to the Commander that a conspiracy was on foot, and an attempt would be made among the prisoners to escape, which led to an examination of the camp. As usual in all such investigations, innocent persons suffer. When a man's worldly estate consists of the clothes on his back, a blanket or two, a few books, Bible or Testament, a few pieces of boards put together in the best way he can for chair, or bedstead, or table, to turn all out and break up all his fixtures is a very serious item, when he does not know where or how he can replace them. It is all vain talk for men to say, prisoners have no need for such things. They are men, and have minds and affections which must work out on something. Baron Trenk brought his soul to a mouse, another eminent prisoner to a spider, and another watched daily the growing of a blade of grass that came out between the bricks and mortar of his cell. To destroy these little things, to torture and torment by depriving a prisoner of all comfort is as base and infamous as the spirit of the Church of Rome, which, in her desire to wreak vengeance upon those who leave her and protest against her, has systematized torture, and placed before the world the incarnation of satanic cruelty in her inquisition.

The prisoners at a sudden notice were ordered out of their tents. A company or two of a regiment, on guard, came in with axes, picks, spades, &c. They entered every tent of those suspected, dug up the ground in and around, threw out every thing. In the search they found one or two small box-boats prepared to float on the river or bay, and a rope-ladder with which to escape or scale the fence. In other tents nothing objectionable. Hurried out, they had left their little all of treasure which, when the house was dug up, could not be found. For a time some complained of the needless destruction.

The loafers and bummers about the hospital, who the soldiers were want to say were "nine days in the army and the rest of the time in the hospital," grumbling at everything that was done for any man unless they had a share of it, and could not see a shirt given to a naked man without being in desperate want themselves, living in the kitchen, where the best of everything passed through their hands, yet complained of hard fare, were ready to have every one of the men hung right up. Our soldiers who had gone through nearly every battle in which the army of the Potomac had been engaged, spoke very differently. Those that had been in prison at Richmond, spoke of how they would have been treated—but didn't think it was right to punish men for trying to escape. It is the duty of government to keep prisoners as securely as possible, but on the part of the prisoner, it is his right and his duty to escape just as quick as he can, and to this end we would have every one of our men at Richmond, and in other prisons, do their best to escape, and when they did we would give them the right hand and help them on their way. Indeed, we think it is a sort of honorable thing for a prisoner of war to escape.

About two hundred *officers of Morgan's men* came to the Point on Sabbath, March 20. We met them going up in front of the provost marshal's, and waited while the names were called. We noticed some of them were considerably intoxicated. As the roll was called, we were struck with the manner of one young man; answering to his name, he left an impression on us out of all the company. They were taken to the camp prepared for the officers, adjoining the main camp for prisoners. When they had gone in, an altercation occurred between this one of the officers and the one in charge of them. Several times he ordered the officer off, but he persisted in using insulting language, and possibly drew his fist in his face, &c. The lamentable result of it was, that the officer in charge shot him dead. When we saw the corpse, it was the same young man. The officers at the Point generally lamented the occurrence. The man who did it was a kind man, who would do almost anything for the prisoners, and felt it severely, but supposed it was his duty. While our men lamented it, we found, on conversing with his fellow-officers, that they did not condemn the act, but attributed the conduct of the man to the fact that he had been drinking. Among these officers were many very civil, gentlemanly men of education and standing, who behaved themselves in the most unexceptionable and christian manner.

Sometime before they came, a *colored regiment* had been sent up from Fortress Monroe, to be placed among those guarding. The prisoners in the camp heard of it, and for a while the most intense anxiety was manifested. It was a new thing. The guards on the walk around noticing it, let them transgress the usual bounds, so as to look through the cracks in the fence at these passing. For a while there was a good deal of talk, and with some, threats. They were sent beyond the gate and encamped on the main land, just above where the Point connects with it, enabling them to watch and capture, as they did afterwards, those that might escape from the camp along the water.

Some of our own men, especially the Irish, among the guards of the hospital, and the substitutes of the second New Hampshire, were more

excited and indignant than the prisoners. It was, however, admitted on all hands, that a Maryland regiment, we think the fourth United States, marched, drilled and manœuvred as well as any they had ever seen.

In a few days, when in turn, they were put on guard, there was a little difficulty with one or two. The old saying, "Put a beggar on horse-back and he will ride to the devil," has been often seen in placing ignorant, inexperienced men in charge of companies of men, or raising men up suddenly. Some of this colored regiment, when first put on guard, hardly knew their place, or the orders they were required to carry out. Especially some young, conceited lads. A few of these at the gate, did not treat our own men, when going into the camp, with propriety. There was also complaint of the shooting by some of them when there was no necessity. These cases were promptly examined into. Among them, however, were as many well behaved, excellent guards, good soldiers, civil and trusty men, as were in either of the white regiments, and very soon, the prisoners in the camp looked upon them and acted towards them with as much respect as those of the other regiments.

Ole Johnson, a Norwegian, from the battery, who was sick, came to see if he could get a Norwegian testament. He had been in service over two and a half years, had learned to read English in a printing office in Madison, Wisconsin. His father and mother were dead; had five brothers and one sister in Norway. The reason he gave on finding himself at liberty to talk, for coming to our room was, to get out of the company of the men who were in the ward with him. His father was a christian, he had been trained in his principles, was trying, away from home and among strangers and wicked men, to live as a christian, and thanked us for the invitation to come when he had opportunity. We quote two of his remarks: "*When I hear a man swear, I most believe he is a liar, and won't believe him.*" "*It is a fearful thing, that a man is so blind, that he will run away from his Maker.*"

We found *Union men* in camp, who had come there under peculiar circumstances. Two men from East Tennessee. One whose father and another his brother, had started from home in company, to get into our army in Kentucky. The father of one and brother of the other had succeeded in making their way, but these two were caught and put into the rebel army. They were captured somewhere west, had been imprisoned had applied to take the oath, had been neglected and put off. Another man was away from home in Adams county, Penn., when the army of Lee came through Waynesboro', and took him along with them. A portion of the regiment which took him were captured at Gettysburg, and he with them. His home was in Carroll county, Maryland. He was marched on down by Westminster, within eight miles of his wife and children. He had been a prisoner, until now, and carried from one place to another.

A young man from North Carolina, who had been conscripted into the service, giving us his history, said: "He would like to go north until the war was over, had applied to take the oath, was always a Union man. All his family and nearly every relation he had were old Henry Clay whigs. They had a good farm on which he had left his mother and younger children. His father was dead. His mother had always

brought them all up to work and in favor of liberty. Often told them that slavery would bring on a war. That she was willing to give all she had without any pay for them. They were all opposed to slavery, and believed that it was altogether the cause of the war." That there are many who feel as we here have said, it is only necessary to refer to the fact that one whole regiment and part of another have come out and entered our service, and others have entered the navy.

Seeing Gen. Butler about other matters, and noticing the promptness with which he did what work came before him, deciding cases as it seemed to us fairly, and kindly, we brought these cases before him. They were examined into and without delay relieved.

Men in public offices have a great deal to do, but it is wonderful what men can do, if they will be good humored, civil, attentive, and industrious, with promptness and despatch. Whenever you see a public officer have time to drink a little, swear a little, get angry and treat people roughly about business which they are appointed to do; you may be sure that he will not get through his work. The man who has little or nothing to do, may get angry, be irritable, peevish, fretful, nervous, &c., but the man fully occupied ought to say as one did, "*I have got so much to do, I must keep in a good humor.*" It was wise. The faster you run the machinery the more it needs oil—he is a fool who would put sand on instead of oil, when he is in a hurry.

Let officers treat men civilly. Don't do as a general once said to us, he had abolished the word civility from his vocabulary. "I shall always be glad to see the officer of the twentieth Maine, who captured me at Round Top during the battle at Gettysburg," said a prisoner. "He behaved like a gentleman." With all the abuse of Gen. Butler by the rebel press, in the rebel camp at Point Lookout, it was a matter of pleasure among the prisoners to see him. They knew he would not compromise one hair where the interest of his government was at stake, but they felt a confidence that when a matter came before him he would attend to it, that he would not let things be done unjustly or inhumanely to them as prisoners, and that where an officer did such a thing and he learned it, he would relieve him.

We have heard some of our men speak in commendation of a rebel guard, who brought up some of his associates, with a short turn, which would not do any guard harm. "I am here to guard and keep safe these prisoners. I will not insult them—and I will not permit any man to do it, while I am on guard."

Men who are in war should remember that it will not last always. They must die. Their enemies must die, both must meet at the judgment bar of him who will there remember the kindness which gave a cup of cold water. If they both live, when the war is over, they will find that acts of humanity which they performed will do more to bind together the people of this nation, than any thing else. Out of these prisons will come men who have been there trained and disciplined by God himself.

War and imprisonment are God's school. When he permits a nation to war and fight, religion is not dead. He sends afflictions upon individuals and tries them—but on nations judgments, to punish and break down associations which have been combined in opposing his great pur-

poses. Thus in the Scripture, Jer. 6, 8: "*Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee; lest I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited.*" To the city of Nineveh he sent Jonah. Forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed, because of her wickedness. But they repented and God turned away his anger. So Jer. 18, 7-10: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down and to destroy it. If that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them, &c."

"*I have read the New Testament through since I was in prison,*" said an officer, an educated man, who had been inclined to treat it with contempt; "*I now want to read the Bible. I never had one.*" It would surprise any man who had not been among the prisoners in our hands to see how many of them want the Scriptures and how anxiously they seek for them. Men who at home probably never opened them. Many of God's people have been in prison. Joseph, Jeremiah, John, Peter, Paul and Silas. Thence came Paul's Epistles. Christ said to his disciples "ye shall be cast into prison."

Earthly governments, ignorant and inattentive officers, may suffer individuals to pine away unjustly, or in the multitude of the cases let innocent persons suffer with the guilty, rather than trouble themselves to look into their cases, but it is not so with Christ, he will hear every call, and regard every case which presents itself before him.

A man sent to prison, in Russia, for conspiring against the life of the Emperor Nicholas, treated with scorn a minister who visited him, kicked the Bible he left, and cursed man and God for injustice. After days of solitude, loneliness and anger, he opened it on 50th Psalm, 15th v.: *Call upon me in the day of trouble and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* He threw away the book. After days he read again and again. God made the very despised word effectual to his salvation, and he waited in joyful hope for the day of his execution. On the day preceding, the Emperor himself came to him in his cell to let him know that he was released, and apologized for his imprisonment, having been fully satisfied of his innocence. (See Tract, *Prisoner and Emperor.*)

John Newton said, "*when I hear a knock at my study door, I hear a message from God.*" Position involves responsibility. Public men who shut their doors and their ears against the petitions of individuals, should learn from the unjust judge, and remember that God has said, "*Whoso stoppeth his ear at the cry of the poor, he shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.*" Prov. 21: 13.

"The Lord despiseth not his prisoners." Ps. 69: 33.

"Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee." Ps. 79: 11.

"From heaven did the Lord behold, to hear the groaning of the prisoner." Ps. 102: 20.

Jesus said, "But I say unto you, love your enemies." Mat. 5: 44.

Placing our men in front of batteries, on fortifications, &c., we think fair and right to oppose with an equal number and grade on same kind of work and danger; but to withhold food and clothing and shelter from, and proper medical attention to, any prisoner or wounded man, we hope will not be entered upon the records of our nation. "*Ven-*

geance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head." Rom. 12: 19, 20 Let us show our principles in contrast. God's government sets forth no such principles of retaliation. It is altogether satanic cruelty. We must have his spirit to do his acts. Success in putting down this rebellion and future prosperity is from God. Don't let us do that which will set him against us. We will do better with him on our side than with all our wise men and all our armies. 2 Kings vi: 17.

Men at Point Lookout, from Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York—from twenty States—colonels, captains, lieutenants, a judge, lawyers, sons of pious mothers who are dead, and they orphans, sons of widows at home, came freely to our room. We were able to give them religious reading matter, and privately to encourage, exhort and admonish as their particular case seemed to need.

From rules laid down by Secretary of War and Commissary General of Prisoners:

XII. The Commanding officer will cause requisitions to be made by his Quartermaster for such clothing as may be absolutely necessary for the prisoners; which requisition will be approved by him after a careful inquiry as to the necessity, and submitted for the approval of the Commissary General of Prisoners. * * *
From the 30th of April to 1st of October, neither drawers nor socks will be allowed, except to the sick.

At Fort Delaware, in eight months, over thirty-five thousand articles were distributed among the men—shoes, stockings, shirts, drawers, woolen blankets and great coats. It is a rule not to let a man enter the camp without an overcoat or blanket. In nearly four months we were at Point Lookout, there was, as far as we could learn, but one case, and that proved by the mistake of a man letting him in late at night without knowing the rule.

XIV. The Commanding officer must give receipts for money to those to whom it belongs. These sums shall be kept in a book subject to inspection of the Commissary General at any time, or other inspecting officer, and when prisoners are transferred the amount due must be sent with him to the officer to whom they are sent, who shall receipt for it. When paroled their money will be returned to them.

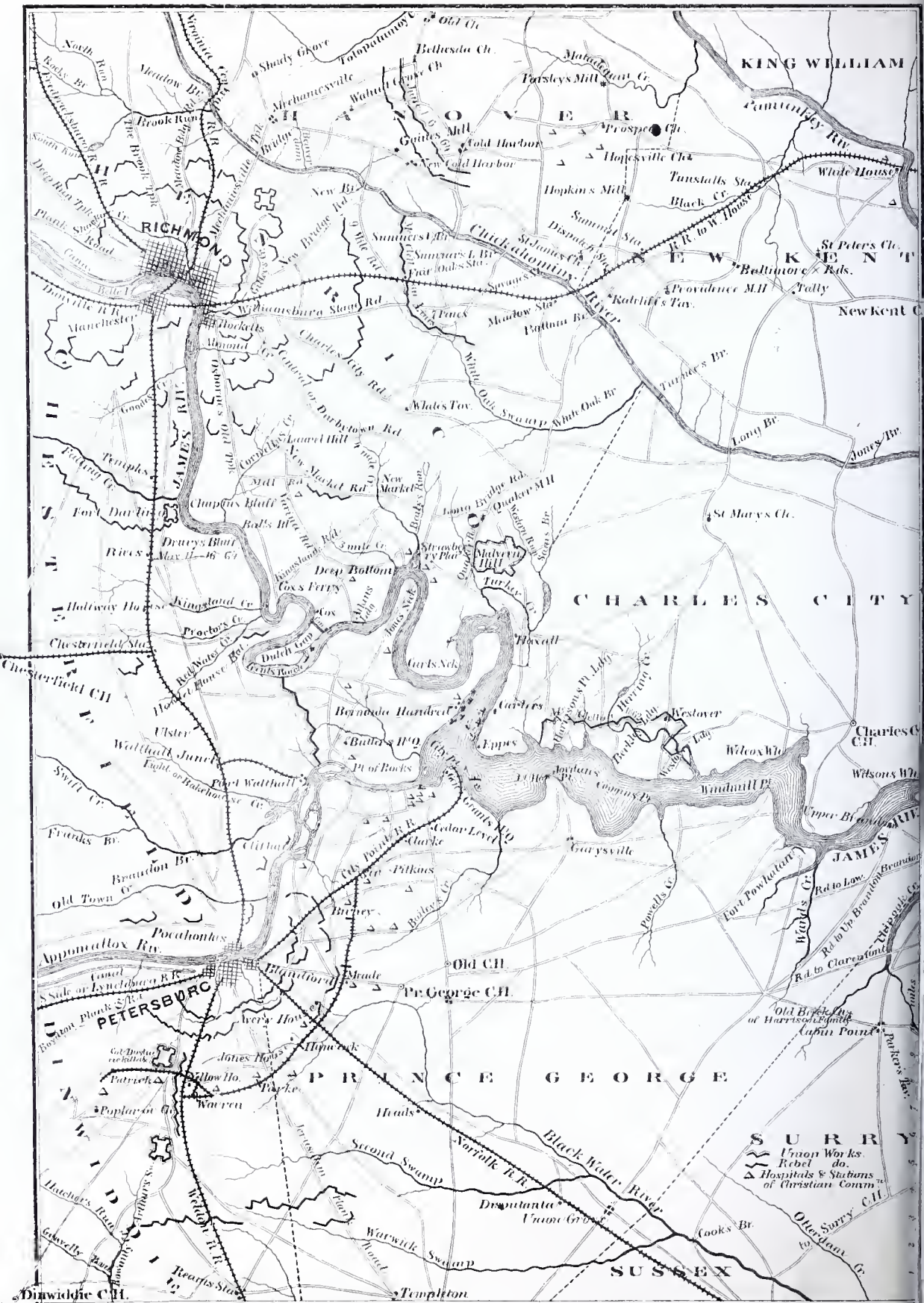
Of these rules we had practical proof, and when the Rev. Mr. Walker was going away, the reason which the Provost Marshal gave for not getting him off in that boat was, that he had so many to pay he would not be able to get him in this time. He did, however, pay them, pay him, and he went down in the boat.

We have been thus particular in these matters, because there is uniform complaint in regard to our men, that they not only are not furnished, or paid, but that nearly everything is taken from them and withheld when they are paroled.

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FIELD OF WAR AROUND RICHMOND & PETERSBURG 1864.

By Andrew B. Cross — Baltimore.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

As the spring of 1864 opened, the eyes of the nation were upon the two armies which had faced each other during the winter. If Grant moved—Lee must. A line of intrenchments and fortifications at every available point on the way to Richmond, or if by the James or York rivers, heavy earthworks, a second or third edition, enlarged and improved, on those against McClellan, must be encountered.

A single corps of thirty thousand men, would require about seven hundred wagons and four thousand two hundred mules. The horses of officers, artillery, &c., nearly seven thousand. If good roads, each wagon will take about eighty feet, or fifty-six thousand feet, over ten miles for a train—the artillery three miles—ambulances one mile. If thirty thousand men march in single column—six miles—then cattle trains, bridge builders and pontoons, if needed, added. So that twenty miles at least, may be laid out. Some say the supply train for the four corps was eight thousand wagons, and would reach sixty miles in length.

The second, fifth and sixth corps, under Hancock, Warren, Wright and the ninth, from Annapolis, under Burnside, are assigned to enter upon that line on which General Grant afterwards said he would fight it out. Crossing the Rapidan, then by the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, the North Anna, Old Church, Bethesda, in front of Cold Harbor, for the purpose in part, of getting past Lee, and between him and Richmond. Or if the attempts along these lines fail, provision is made for the other, by sending up the tenth and eighteenth corps, under Smith and Gilmore, to Bermuda Hundred. Lee holding to advantage the line next to Richmond as far down the Chickahominy as Bottom's Bridge, with a knowledge of every hill and ravine, by-road, creek or swamp. The army of the Potomac must fight as it advances, while the enemy watches to fall upon it, unless by some skill or expedition it can succeed in getting in front of and between him and Richmond, an end which any wise and efficient commander will be on the alert to do.

Richmond was in a direct line about sixty miles from Orange Court-House where Lee's army wintered, about seventy from Culpeper Court-House where our army lay. The latter about sixty miles from Washington the former about seventy-five miles. They were about fifteen to eighteen miles apart, with the Rapidan between them.

Tuesday morning, May 3d, the order was given to move. Wilson's cavalry in the night threw a pontoon bridge over Germanna Ford, followed the next day by the fifth and sixth corps. Gregg's cavalry did the same at Ely's Ford, the second followed. The ninth remained over as a reserve to guard the supply train and protect Washington. On the evening of the 4th, the three corps encamped south of the Rapidan—and were on 5th followed by the ninth.

Thursday, May 5, our army was early in motion through the Wilderness, a tract of wild, uneven country, covered with scrub oak, low pines and thick bushes, intersected with by-roads, swamps and ravines, a surface of about twelve to fourteen miles square, with very few inhabi-

tants. On the eastern edge is Chancellorsville, and near where Hooker, in May 1863, fought with Lee.

It was certain that Lee would with his knowledge of the country, make a quick, strong and effective assault. Our army was marching on a south-east line for the purpose of passing Lee and was necessarily extended. Lee on one side at north-east to assault, which he did after his manner, massing first on one point then another. In some of these he was successful, taking a number of prisoners. The fighting was very severe.

Friday 6th, early, the fight was renewed and continued all day. Burnside had come over the night before. There were five separate battles by the evening of this day, the last continuing into the night, in which a most desperate charge was made upon our right. Generals Seymour and Shaler were captured, their brigades scattered, and the right so pressed that the supply trains were in danger of being cut off. But by the aid of the artillery and the gathering and rallying of his forces, Sedgwick checked the enemy, and really saved the supplies to the army. General Wadsworth was killed by a bullet, which struck him in the forehead.

Saturday, 7th. The last night really closed upon a drawn battle, in which the enemy were very successful—but at early dawn this morning, a severe artillery fire was opened by our men, the fighting before was from the character of the country mostly of musketry. An advance on our part showed that Lee had fallen back, and was making south, for Spotsylvania Court House.

This battle had continued from ten minutes before twelve on Thursday noon until the morning of Saturday. It was a meeting of about two hundred thousand men, in fierce terrible and deadly conflict, and now drawn to be renewed at Spotsylvania. The loss on both sides was severe. Lee took about one thousand prisoners, but did not drive any of our army back to the Rapidan, or hinder an advance.

The army of Lee had gotten the start, and secured strong fortified positions at Spotsylvania Court House before us. Our army had moved on Saturday during the darkness of the night. About daylight on Sabbath, the 8th, part of it halted in the midst of the old battle-field of Hooker and Lee, to get breakfast. In an hour or two it turned south, on the turnpike toward Spotsylvania Court House, fighting at times nearly all day.

Monday, 9th. The *Mattaponi* river has four branches, *Mat*, *Ta*, *Po*, *Ny*. Between the *Ny* and near the *Po* is the Court House. The fortifications of Lee at this place were approached by three roads, centering in the town. On these in the form of a semicircle, he placed his army, under Longstreet, Ewell and Hill. General Meade, with the second, fifth, sixth and ninth corps, after driving him in on different points, here faced him, and advanced across the *Ny*. General Sedgwick was killed by a sharp-shooter while he was giving directions about the position of his artillery. This day there were charges and repulses, but Lee held his strong position around the Court House. The trains had come up, and the men whose rations had been exhausted were this day replenished.

Tuesday, 10th. A severe cannonade, preparatory to an attack on the

whole line, was commenced. The attack was made with great force and energy. Extending over a large district of country, along the marshes of the *Ny*, in the woods and open fields, met on all sides by the shot and shell of Lee's batteries, from their strong works, yet our men entered some of these and took about 1,000 prisoners. While our loss this day was severe, Lee must have been heavily loser, when he asked for a truce on the next day, 11th, to bury the dead.

On Wednesday, 11th, General Grant sent this despatch to the Secretary of War: "We have now ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result has been very much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken over 5,000 prisoners in battle, while he has taken but few from us except stragglers. I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

Early Thursday, 12th, our men charged upon that portion held by General Edward Johnson, capturing him and his division. General Grant despatched: "The eighth day of battle closes, leaving between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners in our hands, for the day's work, including two general officers and over thirty pieces of artillery. While we have lost no organization, not even a company, we have destroyed and captured one division, Johnson's—one brigade, Dobbs', and one entire regiment of the enemy."

The fight of this day was from morning until night, fourteen hours long. It could not be exceeded in resolute, determined bravery and perseverance by any preceding battle; and left us at night one mile nearer the Court House, repulsing Lee in nearly every attack. This led Lee to draw in his lines nearer his centre. The *Richmond Enquirer* says "that during the battle of Spotsylvania a large tree in the rear of the rebel breastworks was cut down by the concentrated force of the minnie balls. The tree fell inside of their works. After the battle one of their surgeons, Dr. Charles Magill, measured the trunk and found it twenty-two inches through and sixty-one inches in circumference. The foliage was completely trimmed from it."

We have now had most severe and terrible battles, at Wilderness and Spotsylvania for eight to ten days. The *Richmond Sentinel* said: "During the past two weeks the war has raged with a fury unexampled in all our previous campaigns." Our wounded from which are probably not short of twenty thousand Lee's not less. Ours are to be attended to as far as possible, bandaged, amputated and dressed before they are removed ten to fifteen miles, to the hospital at Fredericksburg. The supply is short—some of the divisions are with scarcely anything. The medical wagons of the first division of the ninth corps, by some delay, did not reach the hospital until the fighting had ceased. Any one familiar with these movements knows the danger of wagons or men moving about in small companies, when the enemy's cavalry are waiting for the opportunity to seize and take off whatever they can. In this division the hospital was established and conducted during the first day with the contents of the commission wagon, their tents forming the shelter for the severely wounded, while basins, sponges, scissors, lint, bandages, stimulants, beef tea, coffee, milk, crackers, &c., with the delegates as nurses, cooks, &c, rendered the only service. On Sabbath, 8th, after supply-

ing a cavalry hospital, the team, with those from this corps, bore away for Fredericksburg. On Monday they arrived. The supplies which they had husbanded were an immediate relief, furnishing breakfast for hundreds who otherwise would have gone without anything.

A case of treachery in the mayor should not be forgotten. When the wounded from the Wilderness, who were able to walk, had come into the town ahead of the wagons and ambulances, they inquired of him for the hospital, which the government had established. He directed them as they supposed, to it, at the outer edge of the town—but where there was a number of cavalry who gobbled them up and took them prisoners to Richmond.

Those unable to walk were taken in wagons and ambulances from the Wilderness and Spotsylvania to Fredericksburg. Jarred and jolted in wagons on a rough road, is hard enough for a well man, but what must it be for men with wounds in feet, legs, thighs, arms, body, head; some with one leg, one arm, indeed every kind of wound which can be imagined among so many thousand persons; for days without food, when fed and dressed, then wagoned to Belle Plain, a landing on an arm of the Potomac, about eight to ten miles below Aquia Creek. The travel from Fredericksburg to Belle Plain was in wagons, ambulances and on foot, over a muddy, rough and dreary road. It was necessary to remove them as fast as possible, every house of every description in Fredericksburg being a hospital.

It would be a very difficult work to estimate the labors of the delegates at Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Fredericksburg and Belle Plain, who were supplied as fast as possible, and with an abundance. Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, says of a visit, May 23d:

"At Fredericksburg we were set down in the midst of the work. There were from 8,000 to 10,000 wounded men in the various churches, halls and other houses of the town. As some were sent away towards Washington others came in from the field. The application of the work of the commission to those poor sufferers lying in ambulances, just from the battle, and waiting to be placed under shelter, as well as to the thousands in the so-called hospitals, was just the aspect in which it would best exhibit its true character. I joined in it, messed with the delegates, saw the whole interior of how they lived and denied themselves and wrought. The morning was begun and the day was ended with devotional exercises in the open air, for the commission rooms afforded no space for about 270.

"They went out to help the surgeons, some of them surgeons themselves, to wash, to feed, to soothe, take part in the most painful operations, to minister in every wise and loving way to the sick, the maimed, the dying, to talk with them about their souls, to point them to the Lamb of God, to pray with them, under all varieties of trying and painful circumstances, to receive their last messages to dear ones at home, to comfort in all ways those dear men to whom the country is so deeply indebted, to bury them when dead.

"But I cannot expect to give an adequate idea of their work, or of their spirit in it, for all accounts to me, before I saw it, had greatly failed to make me comprehend it so as to do it any justice, greatly as I had valued it. What particularly struck me in the work was the *individuality* and *personality* of the connection between the commission agent and the wounded sufferers. There was nothing between them to make the application of aid circuitous or doubtful. It did not take the place of, or in the least interfere with, the work of the official men, the army surgeons, &c. It supplemented them. It helped them. It supplied deficiencies in special emergencies, which no government could be ready for, in all the details of such a condition of things as existed at Fredericksburg. It met the wounded on the field; it met them on their arrival at the town long before the appliances of a very over-worked corps of excellent army surgeons and nurses could get to them.

"I was much struck with the high character of the men, coming from the highest

social positions, reinforcements daily arriving as the time of others expired, but not reaching the necessities of the case; [on our way from Fredericksburg we met twenty or thirty on their way down, walking in the hot sun,] and then with how they *laid aside their garments and girded themselves*, and became servants to all for Christ's sake, how laboriously they wrought, and how all along, with ministrations to the body, they carried the gospel, and most of all, sought the salvation of the soldier. And how the poor sufferers welcomed them—how they appreciated their work—how they thanked them! In how many cases did I hear them say "We should have been dead by this time but for the christian commission men."

"Having seen the work, under circumstances which tested it to the uttermost, as to the sort of men it gets, the wisdom of its appliances, and the efficiency and economy of its operations, I can say, and I want to say out of my whole heart, that a work more worthy of the confidence, and affection, and co-operation of a christian public, especially of every loyal heart and hand, cannot be devised. It is wonderful to see what, from a very small beginning, it has arrived at. The sight of it is one of the most refreshing alleviations of the grief of the land, under the tribulations of this awful war, and the wicked conspiracy that originated it."

Friday, 13th. The wet weather stopped operations, except the building of fortifications and gathering of reinforcements—until Wednesday, the 18th, when the second and ninth corps were engaged, gaining two lines of Lee's intrenchments and taking some guns. On the 19th Ewell made an attempt to capture the ammunition and supply train, in which he failed, losing about twelve hundred killed and wounded and five hundred prisoners; our loss being nine hundred. Grant now stretched his line until Spotsylvania Court House lay to his right. On the 20th our men succeeded in moving south, and on Saturday, 21st, in the evening, occupied Guinney's Bowling Green, and Milford.

Both armies were marching all Saturday night. On Monday, 23rd, our forces crossed the North Anna near the central railroad, after severe opposition.

On Wednesday, 25th, at night, after burning the railroad bridge, our army was between the North and South Anna rivers. About three o'clock it was reported that the fifth corps had crossed the North Anna, but only a brigade of one division, under General Griffin, had. The whole corps were preparing to cross, and were allowed by Lee, calculating on attacking and driving them back to the river. When he attacked, General Griffin maintained his position so firmly as to save the day and bring all through in safety, though Lee had opened on him with nearly one hundred cannon. Lee had also formed a new line of defence on the north side of the South Anna river, which he probably supposed General Grant would attempt to pass, as he had done at Wilderness and Spotsylvania. But he on Thursday, 26th, prepared to recross the North Anna, and in a few days had removed his army down to and across the Pamunkey, in such a position that he could communicate with White House as a base, where he had already had his supplies forwarded.

On May 5th General Butler sent a heavy force up the York river, making it probable that he was going to West Point or White House. Coming back, it was supposed he was going to Yorktown, but he returned and went up the James river to Bermuda Hundred, where he disembarked his forces, taking possession of Bermuda Hundred. Whatever was the object of the movement, one thing is certain, that Fortress Monroe was virtually removed to the junction of the James and Appomattox, and Bermuda Hundred and City Point made a position

for operations which will not cease until the rebellion is overthrown. From Bermuda Hundred, on the James, Butler, with the tenth and eighteenth corps, under Smith and Gilmore, took possession of all the ground from a line above the Point of Rocks, on the Appomattox, to Trent's Reach, on the James, the line of which works will be seen on the map. He was not more than twelve miles from Petersburg, and about fifteen to seventeen from Richmond.

May 3rd, we went down to Fortress Monroe, with Mr. J. R. Miller, one of our field agents, to see where was the best place to make the base for the operations of the commission, believing it certain that the line would be the James. At the suggestion of General Butler, and with the kind attention of Captain Plato, Quartermaster at Norfolk, placed our stores in the quartermaster's warehouse for a few days.

Mr. Miller went to Yorktown. General Butler's fleet returning, he came back, and put up a tent at Fortress Monroe, where afterwards a little shanty of 12 by 32 was put up, in which has been kept part of our stores. Hundreds of our delegates, and others connected with humane purposes, some seeking their wounded children and fathers, and others the bodies of those who had fallen on the field or died in the hospital, have here been provided for.

In a few days, Mr. Miller went up and established a station at Bermuda Hundred, another about five miles west in the tenth corps, near General Gilmore's headquarters, at the eighteenth corps, (then under General Smith,) at the Point of Rocks, a third.

General Kautz, with about 3,000 cavalry from Suffolk, came up by Stony Creek, burned the railroad bridge, and came into our lines about City Point. His wounded and others who had lost their clothes, &c., in the raid, Mr. Miller saw supplied. On the 9th, General Butler announced his hopefulness of the success of Kautz to the Secretary of War. Intrenching from the Appomattox to the James; Wednesday, May 11th, he advanced out of his lines, and had a fight with the rebel forces, about 2, P. M., driving them to the outside line of their works, near Drury's Bluff; 12th and 13th they were skirmishing. On Saturday, the 14th, he drove them to their inner line. In the evening they made a sortie, and after several volleys returned. Sabbath, 15th, our sharpshooters, some within one hundred and fifty yards, kept their artillery quiet. Monday, 16th, there was a very heavy fog. The rebels taking advantage of it made a sortie, early in the morning, got around and took largely of Heckman's brigade. The engagement was very severe, and loss great on both sides. At night, our forces retired into our works. The rebels did not follow.

The wagon, under Michael Finnegan and delegates, had been on hand from the 11th to the 16th. On Sabbath (15th) they were up with our lines, and by 7 o'clock, on the 16th, were on the line of the intrenchments, where they met the wounded coming in streams. They stopped the wagons and supplied coffee, tea, beef tea, crackers, milk, &c. Four to five camp kettles were boiling nearly all day. Some of the men went to Point of Rocks, others to the tenth corps hospital. There was no other provision made for any of these men until they went to the hospital, about two miles. When our delegates came to the hospital, Dr. Snow, who had it in charge, said: "I never was so rejoiced in

my life. You came in the time of our greatest need." No one could have been more kind and attentive than the doctor was to our men while at the hospital. Two young men from Princeton, of the Sanitary Commission, were here rendering what aid they could, but no stores had been sent to them, nor was even a tent provided for them.

On the 9th of May, Sheridan's cavalry left near the Wilderness, crossed the Rapidan in the evening, on to Beaver Dam Station, on the Richmond and Gordonsville road, around to the right of Lee's army.— Here he tore up the railroad, destroyed three trains of cars and a large amount of stores. Turning off, made for Richmond, crossing the Chickahominy and entered the exterior defences of Richmond. Encountering the rebel cavalry, under General J. E. B. Stuart, he recrossed the Chickahominy and made for General Butler's lines.

On Saturday, (28th) at Bermuda Hundred the troops were coming in all night and getting upon transports. On Sabbath morning we helped our wagon and horses on board a vessel, and by 10 to 12 o'clock, all was quiet and clear of troops. On Monday they were at the White House, having gone down the James and up the York river.

Lee was aiming to keep Grant from Richmond, and Grant was moving down toward his new base at White House. If Lee could cut him off he would interfere greatly with his movements. But Lee was in danger, if he went too far in the way of cutting off supplies at White House, of opening the door for Grant into Richmond.

The cavalry engagements from day to day, hindered Lee, but on the 29th, Sheridan drove him back from the west of Hanover town toward Bethesda church. This cavalry fight one of the most severe during the war, prepared the way for our army to secure their position. Lee's lines were from Atlee's Station, on the Virginia Central railroad, on north of the Chickahominy to Shady Grove Church, about eight miles from Richmond.

On the 30th, General Warren, with the fifth corps, pressed up towards Lee's right. General Hancock, of the second corps also got into the right of the fifth. With the aid of the cavalry, on this and the 31st, the sixth and 18th coming up, our forces were enabled on the next day, June 1st, to form a line of battle, as may be seen from the map—ninth corps on west of Bethesda church, across the Mechanicsville road, fifth between that and the Walnut Grove road, eighteenth between that and the new Cold Harbor road facing Gaines' Mill, sixth across new Cold Harbor road, second across Sumner's Bridge road. Directly in front of our forces was Lee's army intrenched. The battle of this day secured us Cold Harbor.

We were about the same distance from Richmond and White House. If we could move a little more to the left, and across the Chickahominy, the way would have been opened into Richmond. Wednesday night it was arranged to move on Thursday, (2d) but a severe storm hindered, and gave Lee time to complete his fortifications. On Friday, (3d) they were more strongly fortified.

The importance of this point was duly appreciated by General Grant when he commenced his work of fortifying, intrenching and advancing upon Lee, line by line, until our fortifications were within a few rods in some places of theirs—so near that men could exchange papers and hold

conversation from the two armies. The position could not be carried without fearful loss of life.

Early this morning a charge, which had been ordered the preceding evening, was made, in which we suffered severely. General Tyler was wounded. Great numbers of our wounded lay on the field, though strenuous efforts were made to carry them off.

Colonel Peter B. Porter, of Niagara Falls, commanding the 8th New York heavy artillery, was killed within 5 to 6 rods of the rebel lines. Seven wounds were found upon his body. One in his neck, one between his shoulders, one on the right side, and lower part of the stomach, one on the left, and near his heart, and two in his legs. The evening before he said, "that if the charge was made he would not come out alive; but that if required, he would go into it." The last words heard from him were: "*Boys, follow me.*" We notice the following extract from his will, which was made before entering the service, which shows the man:

"Feeling to its full extent the probability that I may not return from the path of duty on which I have entered—if it please God that it be so—I can say with truth I have entered on the career of danger with no ambitious aspirations, nor with the idea that I am fitted by nature or experience to be of any important service to the Government; but in obedience to the call of duty demanding every citizen to contribute what he could in means, labor, or life to sustain the government of his country; a sacrifice made, too, the more willingly by me when I consider how singularly benefited I have been by the institutions of this land, and that up to this time all the blessings of life have been showered upon me beyond what falls usually to the lot of man."

The *White House* is on the south side of the Pamunkey river, about three-quarters of a mile below where the railroad from Richmond to West Point crosses. West Point is at the head of the York river and in the fork of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi. The former is exceedingly crooked, but navigable for steamers and gunboats to the railroad bridge. For a mile or two west, and for miles south, the land is level and tillable. Its name is from an old house with brick foundation, upon which we suppose there was a comfortable and well arranged house. The walls seem to have been whitewashed. There is not now any building standing, nor when our army went there for its base, the iron of the railroad near being removed, and the ties burned by McClellan's army in 1862.

Mr. Miller with Finnegan pitched tent north of the railroad embankment and within twenty steps of the river. This became our store tent, from which our wagons for the fifth, sixth, ninth, second and eighteenth drew their supplies, and took them out in company with the Government trains to the vicinity of Cold Harbor, &c., to which ever place our tents for the corps were pitched. A few hundred yards below on the river was the barge from which we received our stores, and along the river for nearly a quarter of a mile were boats continually unloading stores, ammunition, forage and everything of every kind needed for the army. Along the shore and in procession for half a mile, coming and going, were the wagons for and with supplies. Before you get down to the White House was a little ravine through which a very small stream of water runs, over which was a bridge that at least one-half of the wagons passed coming or going. The delay at it and the

damage to teams, with the swearing done by drivers, impressed upon us the importance of having a *road-master* as well as a wagon-master, whose business it should be to go along daily upon the roads where the teams travel and have logs cut out of the way, deep holes filled up, bridges repaired, and that it should be his duty to enter upon it as soon as the wagons are needed along the road. One half hours' attention at this little bridge would have saved the Government one or two mules. Near the White House foundations were the quartermaster, commissary, &c., &c., also the telegraph station. A few hundred yards below began the commission tents, and west and south-west the tents of the base hospital for the different corps. The ground of the hospital tents was as good as it could be, level, dry, covered with a heavy sod of grass which was also dry. The tents not being sufficient, men were laid upon the ground. Occasionally numbers of them were left in the ambulances and wagons until they were removed to the boats, which were daily plying to Washington and such hospitals as they were sent to. Near the hospital we had two or three large tents for goods and for delegates to eat in, and others for sleep, &c., &c. Besides the men who were in front with the field hospitals and our wagons, we had from seventy to one hundred busily occupied here at the base. Every available camp kettle was in use for coffee, tea, corn starch, farina, &c. The large supply of crackers which we had was so far used, that we had to come on the Government to get hard tack for ourselves as well as the men.

Our delegates in the front had given all the attention they could before the wounded left them, but as the ambulance, and the return wagons, which had taken out supplies, came back they brought in such numbers that it pressed everything. At the front of our tents was one continual crowd of those slightly wounded, who had walked in. They came for coffee, lemonade, crackers, farina, &c., something to eat. As soon as we had once supplied these we had to turn them over to the hospitals. Thus continued the work from day to day. Below us was the sanitary commission busily engaged, also relief associations from different States, looking after their wounded. Our wagons and delegates who had come with the army through the whole campaign, and the one from Bermuda Hundred, were at the front with stores. There were over 2,300 wounded in the eighteenth corps. As Mr. Miller's wagon came up, Dr. Richardson, of the eighteenth, came out himself, and began to get out of the wagon, bandages, lint, &c., &c. Everything was put out at once, and the wagon sent back for more. About 15,000 were wounded.

Tuesday 7th, a truce was entered upon for the burying the dead and taking care of the wounded of both armies. White House now looked as if it was going to remain the permanent base for the army. Wharves were built, the railroad laid down, &c., &c. But preparations were really making from the day of the fight near Cold Harbor of the 3d, to change to the south of Richmond, and the works carried on were really a blind.

They did not however move until Sunday night, 12th. Part of the army, the fifth and perhaps sixth corps crossed at Long Bridge and by Wilcox Landing to Windmill Point and up in front of Petersburg, the rest crossed at Jones' Bridge, passing Charles City C. H., and

over the river nearly in front of Fort Powhatan, and then toward Petersburg; both on pontoons. Others crossed from Harrison's to Jordan's Point on boats.

A pontoon bridge is formed by anchoring flat bottomed boats with the current of a river at such distances apart, that scantling may reach from one to the other, on which are placed thick boards, strong enough to bear heavy cannon and ammunition wagons; being equally sustained by the boats, the whole bridge may be covered with men or horses. We have noticed one regular line of the army, and again as many cavalry as could get on the bridge. In crossing, men who are on horseback are required to dismount and lead their horses. The bridge necessarily quivers under the pressure upon it, and from the fact that the ropes which anchor it are not drawn tight, and the weight on it sinks it so into the water, that they become slack. The scene of passing over the James on June 16th when the army came down, will be remembered by those who saw it with great interest. The boats, scantling, flooring, &c., are a part of army munitions, and are carried on wagons in a *pontoon train*, as regularly as anything else, when an army is passing through a country where the water is too deep to ford.

This movement was made expeditiously and without any obstacle. It was desirable to cross so low down because the enemy held Bottom's Bridge, and the further down our army went, the further it called Lee's away from Richmond to follow, making it rather hazardous for him to get so far away from the lines around Richmond with so many of his forces, and it would not have done for him to make an attack with a small part of his army.

Our army is now all on the south of the James, the headquarters of General Grant at City Point, of General Butler, about four miles to five from Bermuda Hundred, and about one mile from the Point of Rocks on the Appomattox.

About June 10th, while the forces around Cold Harbor were holding Lee in position, before they moved, we had quite an anxious time at Bermuda Hundred on knowing that Kautz had penetrated the outer lines of the rebel works, south of Petersburg, and had to retire because support did not come to him in time. As soon as the 18th corps, from White House, by water, landed at Bermuda Hundred, Smith, on the 15th, started over the pontoon bridge at Point of Rocks, across the Appomattox. Martindale going directly along the river road, Brooks, by the City Point road, Hinks, with his colored men, came up the Jordan's Point road, Kautz, with his cavalry, went round and came up the Prince George Court House road. The batteries north east of Petersburg, with four forts, were carried. The forts were carried by the colored troops. About sixteen guns were captured, and a regiment of Wise's brigade. The second corps came up and took the south of the eighteenth. On the next day, 16th, the ninth corps came up and took position to left of second, and they captured the second line of the rebel works.

On this day a line of rifle pits were taken and some prisoners. The fifth corps came up and moved still to the left. The sixth coming, the eighteenth went back to Bermuda Hundred.

On Saturday, the 18th, our forces advanced within about one mile of

Petersburg, where they found the enemy occupying a new line of intrenchments which after various assaults they failed to carry. But we held and have retained until the present, every line we had taken.

Sabbath 19th A flag of truce was sent in to get the dead and wounded between the lines, but refused. This Sabbath was a busy day and night for our commission, as the wounded came down by City Point to go away, our delegates supplied crackers, coffee, &c., to about three thousand men in wagons, ambulances, on stretchers, on foot and every other way.

Beauregard, who had been facing Butler's lines, came down to Petersburg, exposing the lines to our forces, which Butler was improving by taking the railroad between Richmond and Petersburg, where Lee coming down, drove him into his intrenchments.

On the 22d our forces advanced toward the Weldon road. This weakened, or opened the lines, so that Hill pressed in, producing some confusion in the corps, but was soon repulsed. Cavalry raids were made about this time by Kautz and Wilson, which, while damaging to the rebel communications, were perilous to their men.

We held the lines around Petersburg. The advance on the Weldon railroad, at Yellow House, extending breastworks, erecting forts, and the advance beyond Poplar Church, with skirmishes and pretty severe fighting at Ream's Station and at Hatcher's Run and Stony Creek.

Another series of movements have been advanced on the north side of the James. By looking at the map it will be seen that the road from our lines, at Petersburg, or from City Point, comes to the pontoon bridge at the Point of Rocks. Crossing this, there is a very good road to Jones' Landing on the James. Here a pontoon bridge had been for some time, and General Foster, with the aid of some gunboats, had kept a position open at Deep Bottom. This was but a few miles from Malvern Hill.

Thursday, July 21st. Another pontoon was stretched across to Strawberry Plains, on the other side of the creek from Deep Bottom. The nineteenth corps, which had come up from the south, had crossed over. Tuesday, 26th. The second corps, with large part of Sheridan's and Kautz's cavalry crossed over. The wagon train of the sixth corps, which was with Sheridan, also came across. On the 27th the second corps advanced across Strawberry Plains against the enemy, who was behind earthworks, capturing 4 guns taken at Drury's Bluff, May 16.

During the night of Wednesday, 27th, the second corps re-crossed, to be in readiness for the assault which was to take place after the explosion in front of Petersburg.

The mine under one of the forts, dug by men of the 48th Pennsylvania, Colonel Pleasants, most miners from Schuylkill county and coal regions, was on the 30th of July exploded, with eight tons of powder—blowing up part of a North Carolina battery with the fort.

The ninth corps, supported by the fifth and eighteenth, were to advance and storm the hill as soon as the explosion should take place, but from delays, the real cause of which we do not know, instead of effecting what was designed they were exposed to a murderous fire, by which we lost in killed, wounded and missing five to six thousand men. Gen-

eral Bartlett and staff, with Colonel Wild, were captured. On the 3d of August, Lee granted a truce for the burial of the dead and taking care of the wounded.

The raid into Maryland, and fight at Monocacy, are a constituent part of the operations of Lee's army and that of the Potomac. General Hunter with Crook and Sullivan had proceeded down as far as Lynchburg and was about to invest it, when Early came up and compelled him to leave. Going by Gauley through Western Virginia, it left open the Shenandoah Valley. This opportunity Early embraced, and pushing up with a force of over twenty thousand men, a large body of cavalry crossed the Ohio Railroad, threatening Martinsburg. Sigel, who was there fell back, leaving Winchester, Williamsport and Harper's Ferry, &c. He held Maryland Heights.

On July 9, at the Monocacy, Gen. Wallace with far inferior force fought Early, and was compelled to fall back toward Baltimore. Though this seemed but a small fight, Rebel officers when in Frederick admit that their loss in proportion was equal if not greater than in any battle of the war. Bridges were burned by parts of his command on Northern Central Railroad, also on Philadelphia and Wilmington. General Tyler had been captured at Monocacy, and General Franklin, at Magnolia, but both succeeded in escaping.

On July 11, Early's main body came in on Seventh street road toward Washington, within six or seven miles of the city, threatening Fort Stevens. General Augur's forces drove him back. General Hunter had gotten up to Martinsburg and with Couch threatening his rear, made it necessary for him to change his course. He was pursued by General Averill, who on July 19, overtook and whipped him. At Winchester he was reinforced. After fighting him on 23d and 24th Averill fell back to Harper's Ferry. 26th Early occupied Martinsburg. Saturday 30th, General McCausland with several hundred cavalry, burned Chambersburg.

On August 8th, General Sheridan was put in command of the Middle Department, with sixth, eighth, nineteenth corps, with Crook, Averill and Kelly. By well advised and energetic moves, he in three battles at Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, so completely disabled and drove back Early and Longstreet's forces, that the valley has been relieved in great measure. In pursuing his plan of weakening the military power of the enemy, beside taking a large number of prisoners, four thousand head of stock, number of horses and guns, he destroyed nearly all the grain and provender along his march—two thousand barns with wheat, hay, farming implements, &c, and over seventy mills with flour and wheat.

The battles at Winchester, 19th September, Fisher's Hill, 22d, Cedar Creek, October 19th, were all bloody and destructive, but victorious. The wounded from them could not be less than twelve to fifteen thousand. As soon as possible our delegates have been in attendance, giving every attention in their power. Our wounded, with 2,000 of the rebels, in the hospitals at Winchester, Martinsburg and Sandy Hook, bore witness to the severity of the fight.

August 12th, in the afternoon, the second corps, on board of transports, passed down the river, and after dark returned and came up to

Deep Bottom, where they landed. On the 13th, the tenth joined them and an attack was made on the enemy's works, capturing five hundred prisoners, six cannon and two mortars.

On the 16th, General Hancock moved his forces out from Strawberry Plains in such manner as to command the three principal roads, Charles city, Central and New Market. A portion of Gregg's cavalry encountered a part of General W. H. E. Lee's, under command of General J. R. Chambliss—the latter was killed. In his pocket was found a testament with this request: "If I am killed in this struggle, will some kind friend deliver this book to my wife. J. R. C., Jr.—June 8, 1864." By order of General Hancock his body was buried at the Potteries, on the New Market road near Bailey's Run. We lost, this day, Colonel Craig, who was shot through the head with a bullet. We captured four hundred prisoners, sixteen of whom were commissioned officers. Our killed, wounded and missing are supposed about one thousand. We advanced our position, and had the dead bodies of two rebel Generals, and four battle flags.

18th. Our lines were from Dutch Gap to White Oak Swamp creek. While Lee was watching on this line, General Warren marched with the fifth corps to Ream's station, surprised the force guarding the Weldon railroad at that place, and took possession of the road. That evening and next day Hill tried to drive Warren out, but aided by the ninth, he repulsed him and held the road. The loss of the fifth was about five thousand.

On the 20th, the second came back in front of Petersburg to the help of fifth and ninth, who were attacked on Sunday, 21st, but succeeded in driving the enemy, and taking a large number of prisoners. At this time Colonel Dushane was killed. On the 24th (Wednesday) Lee made another fight for Ream's station, in which he suffered severely, though we lost from the second corps about two thousand prisoners, &c.

Wednesday night, September 28. The eighteenth corps, under General Ord, moved from Jones' Neck across the pontoon bridge, near Aiken's Landing, and up the Varina road; and on the morning of the 29th carried the outer works below Chapin's Farm. Fort Harrison, occupying a commanding position below Fort Darling, with heavy guns, but not well manned, became useless to the rebels. About three hundred prisoners and sixteen guns were taken. General Ord was wounded slightly, and had to leave the field. General Weitzell took his place. General Burnham was killed, and Colonel Stannard lost an arm.

The tenth corps, under General Birney, moved on the Kingsland road, at the junction of this road with New Market. The New Market heights were carried. The attack on Fort Gilmer, at Laurel Hill, was unsuccessful. During this attack General Kautz's cavalry went up as far as the toll-gate, two miles from Richmond. The rebels the next day made two assaults on our lines here, but only with loss to themselves.

On the 30th, the fifth and ninth corps advanced on the Weldon road, encountering the enemy at Peeble's house, on the west of the Weldon road. They fell back to their works on the South Side railroad. There were several engagements here, in which we lost a number of prisoners.

October 7. Lee attacked Terry's division and Kautz's cavalry on the Darbytown road. The rebels made two assaults, in which they lost about one thousand men.

From the time that our army left Culpepper Court House, May 3d, it has had one continued series of desperate fights, with marchings to and fro, early and late, in rain and mud, in heat and dust. Suffering great losses in killed, wounded and prisoners, and accomplished an amount of work in earthworks, of forts intrenchments rifle-pits, pass ways, bomb-proofs and embankments with mining and ditching, which seems almost incredible. The canal through Dutch Gap has been a regular digging operation, attended all the time with great danger from the shells of the Howlett House battery. It is about three-fourths of a mile from Aiken's Landing. The width of it is about 150 feet—the length about 400. The depth in some places about 80. When completed it will shorten the channel of the river about 7 miles.

After every battle from the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Drury's Bluff, Norfolk and Weldon Roads, Deep Bottom, Strawberry Plains, Chapin's Farm, New Market, Darbytown, Charles City Road and Wilson's Landing, where Wild with his colored troops defeated Lee's cavalry, also after raids of Kautz, Wilson and Sheridan, our delegates have been on hand with stores to supply their immediate wants, and at every hospital of the wounded, whether brigade, division, corps, base or general, they have been present to render aid as nurses, surgeons, as christian ministers and laymen, ministering to the necessities of any and all who needed aid. Beside this, they have attended to aid friends in finding their wounded and doing for them those acts of kindness, which at such times become duty, and relieve and comfort the hearts of fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, who are at home.

At the base hospital near City Point, about one mile from the landing, we had our headquarters, from which our delegates were sent to the different corps, &c. At City Point, we also had a store-house, office rooms, chapel tent, &c. Here our supplies are brought from the boats and stored for distribution. At the base hospital we had accommodation for one hundred persons at a time, and have had a large part of that number engaged a great portion of the time. In this hospital we have had from three to ten thousand persons at a time—have fed as high as three thousand in one day. We will not enter into the various times and ways, but from personal knowledge we can refer to cases where men have died neglected, and where the only attention that hundreds of them had for even a drink of water, was from delegates who met them at the boats and attended to them on the boats. Delegates have even been detailed to go up with the wounded from White House, and at the wharf at City Point the nurses begged us for supplies for wounded on their way to Washington.

Some of the severest battles were in the very hottest and driest season. Dust covered everything. As trains of wagons and ambulances, or regiments of foot or cavalry passed along the road you could scarcely distinguish whether they were white or colored men—or cavalry or wagons. Water was scarce, warm, muddy. In this condition our wounded were taken to the hospital at City Point, where the dust was

as bad as any other place. The camp was covered with dust any motion along the streets raised a cloud, which settled on the wounded in the tents, who were almost suffocated, and had scarcely water enough for drinking and but little to bathe their wounds.

With the approbation of General Grant, the attention of General Ingalls, the good will of Mayor Chapman and the fire board of Baltimore, a steam fire engine—No. 4—was secured, which furnished water from the Appomattox, sufficient to lay the dust in the camp, cool the tents, fill tanks which General Grant had directed to be prepared, and carry the water to the commission tents at the extreme end of the camp, forcing water through 2,300 feet of hose. The supply was abundant for everything that was needed. While this experiment was being made, a man who professed to have something to do with the inspection of the army, said to us he would like to see it work, for if it succeeded he had an idea of recommending the providing engines for the army. The engineer, at our instance, followed him, and in passing his tent or one of his associates, the stream of water burst through one of the openings wetting it a little, but only for a second—but such was the difficulty growing out of it, that had it not been for the wounded, and the respect for Generals Grant and Ingalls, the whole thing would have stopped. It was an experiment over a great many difficulties, but we were indebted to the engineer, Mr. Wesley Shaw, and to James Hall and Michael Dunn, for their prompt and constant devotion, in keeping the engine, hose and everything in working order, and by their labor rendering an amount of comfort to the wounded which could not come from any other source. After its operation the government put up two small engines which have since supplied the camp with water, and have gotten two steam fire engines for the western army.

To Mr. S. M. Felton, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Delaware roads, we are indebted for the promptness and liberality which gave us the use of the two roads, and to officers and men of the roads, and also to individuals along the Delaware road in getting peaches, by which we were enabled to pass nearly eight hundred boxes of peaches to the men in the army around Petersburg and Richmond, and to the wounded at Winchester, Sandy Hook, &c. Also to the bay line for this and one continued series of accommodations, in passing stores and delegates from the commencement of the campaign until the present.

Continuing to make comfortable the body, might be called a small part of the work. Our delegates have sought to bring the consolation of the gospel to all who are in sorrow and trouble, who are sick, wounded or dying, point them to Christ, pray with them, write to their friends, bear messages of love, and dying farewells. They have also labored as volunteer chaplains to our soldiers in the army. Seeing that our men are furnished with the word of God bringing to them tracts, religious papers. Throwing around them the influences and restraints of the Gospel, as at home. We believe good has been done which will appear after many days. When this war is over and the army returns home it will not be to curse, defile and pollute the communities into which they shall go. We look for the influence of the Gospel to exercise such a sanctifying power that they will go loving liberty, loving their country, loving their God, loving order and law.

We cannot number the cases of men watched over, nursed and cared for by our delegates. Many a mother's or sister's heart has been made glad on hearing of the condition of a son or brother. The son of Judson, the missionary, by the neglect and ignorance of his surgeon, reduced to the last stage of hope, was cared for by our delegates, watched over and recovered, to render service to his country. In the hospital at City Point, from Hancock's staff, entered upon his heavenly inheritance, Charles H. Dod, of Princeton, New Jersey, son of Professor Albert Dod, deceased, late of New Jersey college.

In the charge upon Petersburg, E. M. Schneider, son of the missionary, who had only returned to duty from a wound at North Anna, was shot through the body. At the hospital of the ninth corps he was carefully nursed until his death. "Don't weep," said he to his anxious friends, "write my father that I have tried to do my duty to my country and my God. Tell the boys in the regiment to stand by the dear old flag." To his brother in the navy, "stand by the flag and cling to the cross of Christ." "You will soon go home," said the surgeon. "Yes, doctor; I am going home. I am not afraid to die. I don't know how the valley will be when I get to it, but it is all right now."

Gathering up his strength, he sung before he died :

"Soon with the angels I'll be marching,
With bright laurels on my brow;
I have for my country fallen,
Who will care for sister now?"

In one of the assaults in front of Petersburg a young man from Connecticut, noble in body and mind, was brought into the hospital, mortally wounded by a sharpshooter. The surgeon requested Rev. Mr. Pease, one of our delegates, to inform him that he could not live more than three or four hours. He said at first—"I have not brought my mind fully to that. If it must be so, I submit." As Mr. P. closed a prayer for him, he began to pray. He first prayed that God would hear that prayer. Then in beautiful and appropriate language, he prayed for that man who shot him. He prayed that the Lord would forgive him for shooting him. He prayed that God would not take him away in his sins, but that he would give him a new heart, and fit him to come to heaven at last. Thus he spent the last three or four hours of his life, praying for those with whom he had just been engaged in deadly combat, and for beloved relations who were far away, and in sending messages to them.

Along all the lines of the army, and near every hospital will be found graves and grave-yards, which contain, side by side, men from south, north, east and west—

By stranger hands their shallow graves were made;
No stone memorial o'er their corpses laid;
In barren sands, and far away from home, they lie,
No friend to shed a tear when passing by.

Yet known by him who said, "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live."

GOD DEALING WITH SLAVERY.

Before the war, Henry A. Wise uttered these words: "Our fathers went to work for the best Union they could make, and *they did give us the best Union, and the best Government the world ever saw.* Jefferson did not make it, nor Madison, nor his co-laborers make it. *God Almighty made it. It was the work of inspiration. I believe that as I believe the Bible.*"

We live under that Government; have been more blest than any nation or people upon the earth. We live now at the most interesting and important period in the history of this country, or of the world.

With all our privileges, civil and religious, we retained as part and parcel of our existence, an institution repugnant to the instincts of our fathers, unjust in its treatment of the rights of others, and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel of Christ—the perpetuation of which was to confirm for all time to come as right the conduct of the men who ruthlessly stole and firmly withheld from their fathers and mothers the Africans brought here as slaves.

While God bore with us, and in his providential dealing induced many to seek in such ways as were proper to turn the captivity to such account that good might come from their bondage, others sought with an avaricious desire for wealth and luxurious ease, to make permanent in the nation, and bind down for their children's children a race to be their slaves.

No matter by what agency, or in what way God's providence wrought—of this one thing, we are clearly convinced, he has opened a door by which thousands and hundreds of thousands have become free men and women. In the State of Maryland an event has taken place, the most remarkable in the whole history of the State, in which, by the vote of the people in one day, eighty thousand slaves became freemen.

This revolution, so quiet and noiseless, has scarcely attracted the attention of the people. They do not realize what God has wrought. Yet in it we see how He can carry on His work of overturning among the nations of the earth, and preparing the way for the coming of the kingdom of his Son. We also see when His time comes that no opposition will have any effect. He will work and none can hinder.

It is only four years since an effort was made in the State of Maryland and other States to turn into slavery those who had before been freed by their masters. At the very time that this class of men were striving to make slaves of freemen, they were also preparing, by organizing armies and training troops, to engage in a war against our nation, aiming to overthrow and destroy it, that they might revolutionize and build up a nation, the foundation stone of which was to be African slavery.

God, "who takes the wise in their own craftiness," "who makes the wrath of man to praise him," "who sets up one and casts down another," "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice," "who sends the stormy wind to fulfill his pleasure," permitted these very men who sought to build up this institution to engage in and inaugurate a war, which, when entered upon, must certainly prove its utter overthrow. In this event, as in the death of his own Son—"With wicked hands ye have slain the Lord of Glory,"—of which God also said, "They have done that which his counsel and foreknowledge determined before should be done."

November 29th, 1860, Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans, preached a sermon, in which he distinctly avowed, that *the South had a distinct mission, a particular trust assigned to them, that their fidelity in the discharge of the same was the pledge of the divine protection.* That mission and that trust was "to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of slavery as now existing." After giving his reasons for the same, he says: "This argument

touches the four cardinal points of duty to ourselves, to our slaves, to the world, and to *Almighty God*. It establishes the nature and solemnity of our present trust to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchanged by man, to go and rest itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it."

If Pharaoh had said, that as God in his Providence had sent Joseph down into Egypt to save the lives of Israel, it was a reason why they should remain, there would have been some plausibility in the argument. But to argue that because his ancestors had stolen from their homes children of any people, and brought them here—that as they had served them under bondage for one or two hundred years, therefore God had intrusted to them the keeping of them in bondage, and also as a duty the endeavor to carry the same principle out wherever they could have any influence; was to assume a principle which nothing less than a distinct and specific revelation from God could warrant.

God had written an entirely different history for our instruction. After four hundred years, he sent Moses, by an especial call and commission, to lead his people up out of Egypt, with all the knowledge they had acquired in Egypt, and with the spoiling of their masters and mistresses.

A wise man, a minister in the South, with God's word in his hand, should have felt every year of this life as he read that history. "If God did as marvelous a thing in the days of Pharaoh and Moses—if Pharaoh in setting himself against Israel's deliverance, was led on by the providence of God until his chariots and horsemen were overwhelmed in the Red Sea, how terribly to be apprehended is the approach of that time when God will arise to deliver these people from a bondage, which their taskmasters would make perpetual?" Year after year, the distant thunder had intimated to the people of the South that there was an unsettled atmosphere. Time and again the elements had grown into angry strife. One messenger after another they had rejected, insulted, murdered, and indeed, by state enactments, shut out these people from learning to read God's word. People South dreaded, trembled, and quaked at the signs which they saw and heard. Instead of taking counsel together to prevent the day of dreadful storm, they counselled resistance. They resolved that God has permitted them to hold this people in bondage, that His word not only permitted but even taught it as right—therefore we will not let this people go free. Maddened like Pharaoh at the signs which God had given them in the political heavens, deluded and blinded as their ministers became on the subject, losing sight of all history, of all right, human and divine, they taught that slavery was right, and God's great sacred trust, for which they must fight, "not only to maintain it where it was, but to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it."

Their leading men in Congress planned and worked. They entered into combination with those in the North who traded with them, whose political and commercial prosperity was dependent upon their aid and co-operation. Taking advantage of the position and times, they had procured arms and ammunition, trained soldiers, formed companies, gathered armies, and declared war; not against particular men or principles, but against that which pertained directly to the nation. They had already avowed their designs; their arrangements made, their officers chosen, and rebellion deep, extensive and bitter was determined upon.

Stevens, second to none in the States which united in the rebellion, in mental ability and moral worth, afterwards vice-president of the confederacy, did not then yield to the rash movements; but with a clearness and force, with a solemnity and truthfulness, which has already amounted to literal prophecy, stood up when others covered and pointed out to the people of Georgia and the south what must necessarily take place. He set forth, beyond controversy, the fact that the south had not in truth one single thing to complain of.

"Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reason you can give—that will satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to

"your fellow sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us—what reasons 'you can give to the nations of the earth to justify it? What right has the north assailed? What interest of the south has been assailed? What justice has been denied? and what claim, founded in justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you name to-day one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the south has a right to complain? I challenge the answer."

God never leaves himself without a witness. So in the face of a war which the leaders of the south were inaugurating which was to be so terrible in its progress, he does not permit it to come on until he has fully justified his providential dealing.

"Pause, now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Leaving out of view for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in war with the north; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition. And for what, we ask again? Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice and humanity? And as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest statesmen and patriots in this and other lands—that it is the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of man, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity, accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of madness, folly and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

Strange as it may seem, the virulence of the storm drove even this man from the truths and principles which he uttered as with prophetic foresight. We can but hope that when the storm is over and men begin to see and think, that he will recognize his old foundations and return to aid in rebuilding what he has permitted himself for a while to abandon.

God led men of wisdom, prayer and faith, to plant colonies, and lay foundations in Africa for evangelizing it and removing the people of color from this country to the land of their fathers. He had watched over and protected them, rooting and grounding them in the confidence of the nations, and thus opening a permanent door of deliverance for the race among us when any emergency should arise to them.

We cannot see into God's ways, but by the budding of the tree we learn that the spring and summer and harvest are coming. So by these plantings of good men and by the preparing of schools and colleges and seminaries we see that God has designed some great end, which he will make manifest in his time.

To view this war, without expecting some great purpose of God to be accomplished, is to believe that God is making a great preparation for that which will end in vanity. God does not so work. If we may by signs, judge of seasons, so may we with great confidence believe that God is at work with us.

On May 4, 1607, Captain Newport, with the first English colony, landed at Point Comfort, now Fortress Monroe, and had their first interview with the natives. About five days after they landed on Jamestown Island, to which they gave the name. On the 18th the Indians threatened them. On June 15th, they had built or finished a fort. After various expeditions of adventure up the James, the Chickahominy, &c., intercourse with Indians, rescue of Smith by Pocahontas, her marriage with John Rolfe, her visit to England, her baptism and death, and the death of her father Powhatan, an assembly or par-

liament was held at Jamestown, May, 1620, and from this commenced the government of Virginia.

A Dutch ship in 1620 brought over to Virginia the first cargo of negroes. After two hundred and forty years we have a population of 26,975,575 whites, 487,996, free negroes, 3,953,760 slaves. African slavery here, began thus early. Slavery has existed in every uncivilized nation, as the result of war, without regard to color. At the death of William the conqueror, one-tenth of the people were slaves, and more than three-fourths of them were virtually in bondage to the other fourth.

Wherever the Gospel had its influence; to steal a man was considered sinful, and until modern times, retaining possession of that stolen, was as great a sin. God seems to permit men to lose sight of rights and principles when he is about to overturn them. The Scripture speaks of blindness happening to men. Pharaoh was hardened against God's providence until God had effected his end. So in the days in which we live, what is more striking in connection with the African race, than the hardening and blinding of men? "For this purpose have I raised thee up," we may apply to Jefferson Davis. The people, and the press of the South, seem to say, "we will not let this people go." And God is in his providence taking away, not only this people, but their earrings and jewels, sons and brothers, the first-born of the South. The blindness which has fallen upon the Jews until the fulness of the Gentiles, seems to have fallen upon the South until the deliverance of these slaves. We have long entertained an idea that God would send his judgment through the countries in which slavery has been the desire of the people, and that which would save districts and States, and even families, would be that the people desired to get it removed.

Changes now are taking place with greater rapidity than in any preceding period of the world. Every sign says to us—the present is full with great events, just waiting fulfilment.

The growth of our country, the place it occupies, and its power in the world, have led many to search the prophecies of Scripture, to see if they cannot find it distinctly taught. Some think they have found it in the forty-fourth and forty-fifth verses of second chapter of Daniel, as "the kingdom which shall never be destroyed," "being set up by the God of heaven, that it shall break in pieces all other kingdoms, the iron, brass, clay, silver and gold"—"That the battle of the great day will be an array of the hostile papal and monarchical powers who will combine as despotism against republicanism and human freedom"—that Napoleon, heading that despotism, will sweep away England and almost destroy us. England with her money and ships and munitions of war and merchandise is against us; France with the art and cunning and planning and combination with the South and in Mexico, have set themselves by counsel and aid against us. A few years since, they were all strong for the liberty of the negro race, yet all combine to aid in riveting his chains with us. A class of men North in the very hour of trial, combined to overthrow the government in its contest for our integrity as a nation. War was without, in arms; the attempt within of internal discord to set the house against itself, brought on a contest the like of which has seldom, if ever been on the earth, and in which no other nation could have stood forth so secure.

More than any other event, at any other time, has the last Presidential election tested the strength and stability of the government. The wars through which we have been passing tested and displayed the military power and energy of the nation. The last election, the inherent determination of the people to perpetuate to their children and future ages "the kingdom which God set up in this western wilderness." When the first Napoleon was asked, "which was the strongest and safest government?" he is said to have answered "the United States of America, because it is the government of the people, and the government which the people want. If it was broken up to-day, to-morrow every man in the United States would vote for the formation

"of the same government." In confirmation of this, when the South renounced our Government and set up their rebellion, they adopted the same with the few modifications which we have long wanted, and which now many among us are seeking at the hands of the next Congress.

Our Government is more firm to day than it ever was. This war has given new life to us as a nation, has recast elements that were discordant. Hereafter, you will no more hear of German parties, Irish parties, Negro or Slavery parties, &c., with threats of foreign interference and opposition.

It is not certain that we are mentioned in prophecy, much as we would hope. But of *Ethiopia* we know that it is in prophecy. God has placed it in his own word of promise. The help and deliverance for it will come from him. It shall stretch out unto him the hands expressive not only of entreaty but of thanksgiving. Much as the race are ridiculed and set lightly by. For men have tried to degrade them to brutes, and then argue that they are so low and brutish that they are allied to dumb animals and not to man made in the image of God. This insult is not to man but to God. Everywhere in the South they are looking for deliverance. Will not God bring it? Will men who look upon our army as God's arm in their deliverance, fight against us? Away with such folly. To arm and train the negroes and put the musket and bayonet into their hands, is to give up the contest, and will exhibit a madness which it is almost incredible that men could come to. Men who sing as they arrive—

"Jehovah hath conquered, his people are free,"

are not going to fight hard to be slaves.

In two hundred and forty years from the little colony on Jamestown Island, a place with which more people have become familiar the past year than ever before, to the present time, we have grown to be the *American Nation*. No such help was given our fathers, and no such facilities were ever afforded any nation as are now given to the African race in this country and in the colonies on the coast of Africa.

Every movement of the advocates of slavery seems to recoil upon them, while it opens a door for the slave. Now the opening door to the African is as manifest as when Israel entered the dry land, on the bottom of the Red Sea, which had divided for them. It is in God's hand. He has led the people—led the President—led the army; at every step, opening the door. After he has accomplished his work in us as a nation, delivered us from this evil in our midst, brought us to feel our dependence upon him, he will make us as a nation thank him, and in the language of the Psalmist say,

"It was good for us that we have been afflicted."

Never before has such exertion been made to elevate any race of people as has been for the negro race in this country, within one or two years, and especially the last. One single item in connection with the Christian Commission's work in the Army of the Potomac is a request for fifteen to sixteen thousand primers and spelling books. Different bodies of people in all the States are vying with each other in their efforts. The Government has appointed a Bureau for Freedman's affairs, and are rendering every facility. The Friends, individual societies, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church has a committee, which is actively at work establishing schools and furnishing teachers, &c., at City Point, Fortress Monroe or Hampton, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Leonardtown, in Maryland, everywhere along the lines of our armies, exertions are making. In Pennsylvania, near Oxford, Chester county, through the zeal and energy of Rev. Dr. J. M. Dickey, an institution has been established for the training up and educating of colored men for the Gospel ministry, called the Ashmun Institute. Men from it have gone as missionaries to Africa, others are preaching here. Every year is giving it favor, and now an effort is being made to endow it, so as to make it permanent and enable it to render greater facilities.

The change in public sentiment daily taking place, compels us to believe that the hand of God is in it. Before the first Bull Run fight we remarked that if our army was completely triumphant and the war soon brought to an end, the probability was, that slavery would continue for years; if we were defeated and the war protracted, it would end slavery. That defeat and the protracting of the war has prepared the people for events which have taken place. The turning attention to the able-bodied colored men, the enrolling of them, collecting them into regiments, the drilling and discipline which they must necessarily acquire, is a schooling of the very best kind, and which they will especially need before they can become a nation. It will prepare them to exert a controlling and governing influence over the lawless tribes, to systematize and lay foundations for their own nationality. It is one of the remarkable prophetic intimations of God's word, that "*Ethiopia* is stretching out her hands unto God." God led and trained Israel in Egypt, at the Red Sea, in the wilderness forty years before he brought them into Canaan, and then not those who came out of Egypt, but their children.

The slave power has in great measure, for many years, controlled national and state legislation—the press—politicians—and ministers who act upon the principles of the community in which they live. Like the mortar by which the monarchies of Europe have been builded and cemented, ignoring the rights of God and man, so this slave power by its arrogance has been considered essential to our national existence.

Dr. Owen in 1649 said, the anti-christian mortar must be shaken out of the nations to prepare them for the kingdom of God's dear Son. This slave power of selfishness, and aristocracy combined with politics and irreligion, could not come to an end without some great concussion. By this war God has shaken the political heavens. That power is gone in the State of Maryland—will soon be gone, yea—is it not gone in the nation? The New York *World* a few days since, said slavery is now dead—the party must no longer chain itself to a cast off dead carcass. Wonderful words for those allied to slavery since the days of Calhoun. Behold what God hath wrought! Who but God could have brought about such an event?

Potsherds of the earth may strive. Is. 45: 9. Kings and rulers of the earth counsel together. Ps. 2: 2. But he will laugh at them, while he breaks them with a rod of iron, and dashes them in pieces like a potter's vessel, 9 v. To his Son upon the holy hill of Zion he has given the kingdoms of this world. From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts. Malachi 1: 11.

God holds back that hidden and reserved power, which in the fullness of time he will manifest, when his Spirit is poured from on high upon the nations of the earth. The christian unity and benevolence which has operated through the Christian Commission since the beginning of this war, shows how easily he can cause his people to see eye to eye, and unite heart and hand in the advancement of the kingdom of his Son. So while he makes desolations in the earth, He also maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth. Ps. 46: 9.